

**SPOT-LIGHT
ON THE
HISTORY OF THE CHANDELLAS**

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by

S. K. DIKSHIT

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S. K. Dikshit.

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INTRODUCTION

Glory of Khajuraho :

The tiny village of Khajuraho was once a far-famed city of *Khajuravāhaka*. Its rulers, claiming descent from the Moon, built it up in the course of two centuries, as a city of the "homes of gods",—for such is the Indian name for "temples",—and during the process, turned the locality into a site of almost eternal beauty.

These grand monuments are only a few surviving remains of the architectural glory of the northern India of the 10th and 11th centuries A.D. Most others of this time met their doom at the hands of the Muslim iconoclasts from Mahmud of Ghazna² to Aurangzeb. These, therefore, constitute some of the most important illustrations, surviving today, of the *Nagara* type of architecture. This type, also popularly called the "northern Indian" type, has been miscalled "Indo-Aryan" by the imperialist historians of Britain and their allies. It is, perhaps, best illustrated now in Kandariya Mahādev temple at Khajuraho, the Udayeśvar (or Nilakantheśvar) temple at Udaypur (Dist. Vidisha) and the Liṅgarāja temple at Bhuvaneśvar¹ (Orissa).

The Kandariya Mahādev temple is not only a complex piece of architecture, but also a fascinating one. It is rightly reckoned as the most refined and elegant structure of its type at Khajuraho. Here there are other temples of the same type, *Nagara*, but of smaller dimensions, which on the whole present not a very dissimilar appearance. All these temples can, however, be classified into two subsidiary classes : technically called "*Sāndhāra*" and "*Nirandhāra*". The former have, inside, an ambulatory passage, going round the cella, which gives it the name, "endowed with *andhārā*". The latter are bereft of this special device, and are, therefore, simple structures, resolving themselves into three main parts, viz., a portico, a pavilion and a cella,—or in Sanskritic terminology, an *ardha-māṇḍapa*, a *māṇḍapa* and a *garbhagriha*, respectively. In the "*Sāndhāra*" class, there is the addi-

1) See now, Dr. K. C. Panigrahi's *Bhuvaneschvar*.

tional pronaos between the portico and the pavilion, and the aforementioned ambulatory passage. Corresponding to these on the horizontal plane, we find on the vertical plane three others, viz., the base, the body and the tower, called the *adhishthāna*, the *mandovara* and the *sikhara*.

The foregoing would show that essentially the plan is quite simple, though it is made quite sophisticated by the offsets and the recesses, called *rathas* and *salilāntaras* respectively. What must have originally been a simple type of structure, has already become elaborate even in the early examples of the typical Khajuraho architecture. And as time goes on, their plan becomes more and more elaborate and complicated, side by side with the structural amplification in the profile of the temple. And over this plan rises a complex structure of beauty (decked with bands of delicate carvings), that opens out in beautiful wings called "Lunar Mansions" (*chandra-sālās*)—and that ends ultimately in a conglomerate of spires (*Sikharas*) and turrets (*Uru-śringas*). In these temples, we find a perfect rhythmic expansion in two directions, horizontal and vertical, which gives us a Byzantine cross on the plan, and an illusion of ascending peaks in the elevation.

Although these temples at Khajuraho represent a time, which witnessed a period of decadence in the social life and in the body politic in the wider context of ancient Indian history, there can be no denying that they also represent the struggle of the spirit, that was launched very successfully in the field of art and architecture at this place. The variety of forms, the delicacy and the poise, the rhythm of movements, and above all the high sensitivity of art, that one finds spread out almost lavishly both inside and outside of these temples, turn these monuments into a rare example of artistic effort, scarcely to be compared with anything even of more prosperous epochs of ancient Indian history. The main temple was called "Prasāda" i.e., "a Home of Delight." Hence, it was to be embellished by architectural innovations and sculptural decorations, ever since the beginning of temple architecture in India. Here, in temples like the Lakshmana, the Viśvanātha and the Kandariya Mahādev temples—all of the "Sandhāra" type,—this idea of decoration is carried to

such a perfection, that one wonders if it misses the charge of over-elaboration. Nonetheless, one has to agree that each of these is a veritable home of delight.

The most striking feature of the Prāsāda appertains to the clusters of the subsidiary spires or *mañjaris*, that hug all around the central towering turret, called *Mūla-mañjari*. It is well pointed out that the "whole mass of Sīkhara is a kind of wonderful rising crescendo of curves, the curves of the lesser turrets and the ribs of the main tower having their separate points of intersection, and yet leading inevitably to the āmalaka, that at once crowns and girdles the whole..." The finial of the main turret (*Mūla-mañjari*) is, be it noted, exactly in the aplomb, with reference to the divinity in the *Garbha-griha*, and it has its tips, in rhythmic conformity with the heights of the tips of the spires of the three *Māndapas* and the intervening one.

Another important innovation, that we come across at Khajuraho is the shaded balconies, poetically called "Lunar Mansions", (*Chandra-sālās*)—which architecturally stand mid-way between the closed rooms of the temples in the East and the open halls of the temples in the West, formed of pillared structures. The *Chandra-sālās*, with the *Mahā-Māndapa*, form the transept, with the lengthwise spread of the base. What would have otherwise been quite dark and unworthy interiors of masterly constructions have been brightened up by this innovation as well as the provision of *Ghantā-kūṭas*—the cusped ceilings—from where hung the chandeliers, lighting up the interior. Both the *Chandra-sālās* and the *Ghantā-kūṭas* of these temples provide wonderful examples of ornate efficiency of sophisticated art,—which, we find also displayed with pleasant artistry in the Toranas at the entrance of the *Ardha-māndapas*.

The exteriors of these "Homes of Delight", the *Prāsādas*, have a superfluity of horizontal mouldings, superimposed one on the other,—those at the base termed *kshura*, *kumbha*, *kalasha*, *kapotāli*, etc. Higher up, the *Māndovara* is taken up with *mañchikā*, *jaṅghā*, *chhajjikā*, *bharanī*, *śiravarti*, etc. You have some friezes, going around the temples, that include the *grāsa-pattikās*,—the friezes, containing the face of lion-faced Rāhu,

corresponding to the Gorgon-heads of the temples of the Greeks. There are also two or three large bands of sculptures, including figures of divine and semidivine beings. At the top, around the Mūla-mañjari, clusters of beauty in the form of subsidiary spires (or mañjaris)—called Uru-mañjaris (or Uro-mañjaris), Karga-mañjaris, and Karna-merus,—are found to cling in a graduated fashion. In these bands, you come across not only the semi-divine Apsarases, but also the Siddhas, i.e., human beings, that have attained to almost the status of divinities. It would appear that it is these two, that exhibit erotic art in the highly pornographic postures. Whether they do not mar the delicacy of taste and of artistic sensitivity may be a matter of opinion. But the meaning that they had for the contemporary world is clear, that the tenets of the type of Saivism, followed here, held out such a bliss for the faithful, in the life hereafter. It is also clear that the Indian society of the 10th and 11th century A.D., not only tolerated the existence of Devadāsis in the temple, but even encouraged the depiction of their "outrageous" acts on the walls of the temples. The concept of a temple as a "*Prāsāda*" and the prescription in the contemporary texts about embellishing the exterior wall by figures of "*Nāṭakas*" (the technical name for the Apsarases), and the Siddhas, may help one to elucidate partly the significance of this decoration.

From artistic point of view, however, the representations of these Sura-sundaris (Apsareses) provide examples *par excellence* of masterly delineation. Inside the temples, too, one finds sculptural figures of extraordinary beauty called *Śāla-bhañjikās*. As studies in the anatomy of balanced, developed and proportionate frames of female figures, these sculptural efforts of the Khajuraho artist may be rarely matched anywhere else in the world. The female frame is rarely depicted so successfully anywhere else, from the backside and the sideways, and in such a variety of graceful moods and movements, as it has been here. It is no doubt due to this, that the common man forgets the "offending" aspects of pornographic representations and the master critics of Indian art occasionally go into extacies, describing them.

SPOT-LIGHT
ON THE
HISTORY OF THE CHANDELLAS

I. CREATIVE PERIOD AT KHAJURAHO

(a) **The Background and Origin:**

Khajuraho has yielded the earliest record of the Chandellas, viz., the one now in the Lakshmana Temple, dated in c. 954 A.D., besides a number of other early records. Their latest record, dated in c. 1310 A.D., is from the neighbouring fort of Ajaigarh (or Ajaygarh), about 25 miles from Khajuraho as the crow flies. Quite a majority of their records are from Khajuraho, Ajaigarh, Kalinjar, Mahoba, Mau-Ranipur, Ahar, Charkhari and other places in Bundelkhand, where we find a continuity of their records. Occasionally, however, they have left their inscriptions in eastern regions (i.e. in Baghelkhand), testifying to their occasional hold over those regions. In other words, the find-spots of their records testify to their effective and continuous control of Bundelkhand, with an occasional sway over Baghelkhand. They have, therefore, been aptly called "The Chandellas of Bundelkhand."

Another noteworthy fact is that barring a few records on the pedestals of the black granite images of the

Tīrthākaras of the Jains,—now to be found in the eastern group (or Jain group) of temples—the latter part of the reign of the Chandella dynasty is not found represented at Khajuraho. On the other hand, it is during this period that the forts of Ajaigarh and Kalanjar have yielded a number of important records of this dynasty. If, then, the find-spots of inscriptions be relied upon, the rulers of this dynasty apparently withdrew to the hilly forts, for the sake of safety in the face of the Muslim invasion.

Inscriptional and literary records of, and before, the time of the invasion of the iconoclast Mahmūd of Ghazna would show that Kharjūra-vāhaka or Khajuraho was the capital of the Chandellas. However, those of a later date would show that Mahotsavapura or Mahoba was the capital of the rulers of that dynasty in post-invasion epoch. A study of the art and architecture at Khajuraho has led us to conclude that in those fields the *creative period at Khajuraho* coincides with the former, viz., that before the invasion of Mahmud, and that the post-invasion epoch, though not entirely devoid of artistic creation, is by and large non-productive in Khajuraho. Therefore, we have divided the history of the Chandellas into two periods, viz., I Creative Period at Khajuraho, and II. Non-Productive Period at Khajuraho.

The oldest Chandel inscription, noted above, mentions the name of this town as "Kharjūra-vāhaka," which only means "the village of date-palms." In India, one finds such names given after the trees, in which the locality may abound, and, we know the words like *vāhaka*, *vātaka*, *pātakā* etc. used as terminations, to signify villages or small townships. The locality even today

abounds in Khajūr trees. While these facts may bring out the original significance of that name, we may note here a tradition found in the Gazetteers:—"Tradition ascribes the origin of the name (Khajuraho) to two golden Khajūr-trees (date-palms), with which the city gates were ornamented, but it was more probably due to the prevalence of this tree in the neighbourhood."¹

As shown elsewhere, some of the earliest sculptures in the Jardine Museum appear to hail from "Shajuh"² (i.e., Khajuh) or "Sharjuh" (Kharjura), which letters are found inscribed on their pedestals. Whether the word here signifies the Khajūr lake, or the village of Kharjūra-vāhaka is not quite ascertainable. In either case, these images hailed from the eastern sector; as the village of Kharjūra-vāhaka was itself on the eastern and southern banks of that lake, and also further to the east. Again, in any case, these sculptures betray a lack of that refined sensitivity, which we find associated with the later art and architecture of Khajuraho. In style, they appear to belong to the same class as other early temples at Khajuraho that are fashioned wholly or partly in gneiss, e.g., the Chausat Yognī, the Brahmā temple and the Lālguān Mahādeva temple. The upper portions of the latter two temples are in sand-stone; and the temples, from which the images bearing "Shajuh" are derived, may also have been made at least partly in sand-stone.³

1. I. G. I. (C. I.), (1908), p. 390.

2. Such a change from *Kh* into *Sh* is common to many languages, and is well-known in Chandella records.

3. Along the eastern bank of Khajūr Lake, are to be found the remains of some of the temples. These include granite stones used for the foundation and the plinth.

It may be noted in this context that the gneiss (or granite) is very much locally available at Khajuraho, whereas the red sand-stone in which these images as well as a vast majority of Khajuraho temples are built could be procured only from the neighbouring hills, about 20-25 miles off from this place. We have a suspicion that while the Chandella rulers were getting the stones for all these early temples quarried from the neighbouring hills, the workers, engaged by them, struck upon some diamond mine in a lower stratum, that made the Chandella rulers at once rich and powerful. We learn about the geology of this region, the following, which may bring out the connection between the utilisation of the red sand-stone and the discovery of the diamond mines :—

"The Panna range consists principally of the upper Rewa sand-stone of Vindhyan series, and has long been famous for its diamond mines. The mines are found scattered over an area of about 50 miles, lying east and west of the town of Panna, which is situated at the centre of the productive tract. The lower Rewa series is composed of three strata, the upper being the Jhiri shales, the second lower Rewa sand-stone, and the third is a narrow shale band, known as the Panna shales. In the last of these, the diamond-bearing conglomerate is intercalated at a variable horizon."¹

(b) Small Beginnings :

Thus the art of Khajuraho had small beginnings, and so had the rulers of the Chandel dynasty. Indeed, little history can be culled from the panegyrist's praise of the early kings of this dynasty, mentioned in the available records; for, contemporary records, alluding to

1. I.G.I. (C.I.) (1908), p. 365.

these kings, are wanting. Beyond the foregoing conjecture, therefore, the beginnings of the Chandel power are shrouded in mystery, and so is the origin of their name, which has become a subject of controversy among scholars.

However, the earliest myths, recorded in their own inscriptions, trace their lineage to the Moon-god (Chandra). They are to be interpreted to mean that they regarded themselves as Kshatriyas of "the Lunar Race," and no more. Such claims to the Solar or the Lunar lineage, on the part of the royalty of those days, were a part and parcel of the general belief, and are not any fantastic invention of poets or later bardic creation. Such a belief, rooted in the Purānic tradition, was quite in vogue even as early as the days of Kālidāsa¹ and Bāṇabhaṭṭa,² as is clear from their writings. In the case of the "Chandellas", the myths in their records only support the connection, that can be independently established on philological grounds; for the termination *-illa* in Prākṛit stands for the possessive,³ so that the word "Chandella" may mean no more than "pertaining to the Moon."

Bundelkhand was known in ancient times as Jejākabhukti, so that the Chandellas of Bundelkhand were known to the Muslim chroniclers, probably following the popular pronunciation of that name, as "the rulers

1. Raghuvamśa, VI, 8:—“ अथ स्तुते बन्दिभिरन्वयज्ञैः सोमांकंश्ये नरदेवलोके । ”

2. Harsha-charita (Parab's ed. 1925), p. 61:—“ कथयत यदि सोमवशसंभवः सूर्यवशसंभवो वा भूपतिरभूदेवविधः । ”

3. Vararuchi's *Prākṛita-prakāśa*:—‘ मत्वये उल-इलौ । ’ This connection is already suggested by Dr. F. Kielhorn, who, we find, derives other conclusions therefrom. See *Prabodhā-chandrodaya* for 'Chandrānvaya' (Infra, p. 37 fn. 3).

of Jajhauti." The name "Jejāka-bhukti" is often taken to have been styled after the name of an early Chandella ruler, Jejāka,¹ who may be assigned roughly to the middle of the ninth century A.D. But one may remember that the Chinese pilgrim, Hsuan Ch'uang, who visited the court of the emperor Harsha, mentions in this locality a kingdom, called "Chih-chi-t'o",²—which appears to reproduce the same popular pronunciation as is done by the Muslim chroniclers, and which testifies to its existence about a couple of centuries before this date.

However, none of the kings, mentioned in the Chandella records, appears to belong to a date prior to the 9th century A.D. It is only one of the last of these, viz., Rāhila, who appears to have left any impress on history, by way of giving his name to a tank called "Rāhilya,"³ and of a granite temple near it—not far from Mahoba, the capital of the later Chandellas. Perhaps, that may have been an alternate seat for Rāhila, when he resided at Khajuraho for the most part.

(c) Harsha :

The earliest Chandella ruler to claim any recognition from his contemporaries is his successor Śrī Harsha, who is apparently mentioned in a Kalachuri record as "The Lord of Chitrakūṭa".⁴ In the latter, the Kalachuri ruler, Kokkalla, is praised for having extended his protecting hand to king Bhoja, king Vallabharāja, king Śrī Harsha

1. Ep. Ind., I, p. 121.

2. Watters, on *Yuan Ch'wang's Travels in India* (1904-5).

II, p. 251; Beal, *Records of the Western Countries*, II, p. 271.

3. Mitra, ERK, p. 6, 33; Bose, H. C., p. 147.

4. Ep. Ind., II, p. 306, (Banaras Plates of Karṇadeva; dt. K. E. 793) St. 7.—‘भोजे वल्लभराजे श्रीहर्षे चित्रकूटभूगाले । शक्तरणे च राजनि यस्यासीदभयदः पाणिः ॥ ७ ॥’

of Chitrakūṭa, and king Saṅkaragaṇa. As regards the first two, we obtain a hint elsewhere that while king Bhoja was ruling over the regions to the north of the kingdom of the Chedis, king Kṛishṇa was ruling over the regions to the south of it,¹—which enables one to identify the two kings with two rulers of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty and the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty, bearing these names, viz., Bhoja II and Krishṇa II. King Saṅkaragaṇa is the same as Saṅkula or Rañavigraha, Kokkala's own son and successor, upon whom he bequeathed the inheritance of his kingdom.

From the above, it may appear that the earliest seat of the Chandellas, known to history, was Chitrakūṭa Fort. As the latter is just in the vicinity of two other forts, intimately associated with the Chandel history, viz., those of Kālañjara and Ajaigarh, there can be little doubt that the reference is to the Chandella prince Śrī Harsha, and none else, in the above record. The issue is further clinched by the very *next* stanza, found in the afore-mentioned Kalachuri record, which states that his principal wife, the mother of the future king, was a princess of Chandella extraction.²

This would show why, as towards his own son, the Chedi ruler Kokkalla was so favourably disposed towards Śrī Harsha, who was probably the brother of his chief queen. Another noteworthy fact is that Chitrakūṭa in the territory of the Chandellas was the most famous Chitrakūṭa.

1. Ep. Ind., I; p. 156 f:—

“ कौमोद्ग्राव्या दिश्यते कुलाराजः कैवियां च श्रीनिधिमोजदेवः । ”

Cf. Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 90.

2. Banaras Copper-plates of Karṇadeva, dated K. E. 793

st. 8:—‘ चन्द्रेश्वर-प्रभवां सुशीलां नदाख्यदेवीं स तु पर्यणीषीत् ॥ ’
(slightly corrected).

in northern India, being mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata, the Raghuvamśa¹ and a number of Purāṇas. In fact, the Mahābhārata contains a passage in which this Chitrakūṭa is mentioned along with the other famous Chandel Fortress, Kālañjara.² Such an association between Kālañjara and Chitrakūṭa is also found in some Rāshṭrakūṭa inscriptions laying a claim about Kṛishṇa III, as shown below. Finally, the Chedi ruler could have hardly come into contact with the ruler of the distant Chitor, as is supposed by some scholars.³

The above facts may also help to explain how Śrī Harsha of the Chandella dynasty gained in importance, through a diplomatic marriage-alliance with the contemporary Kalachuri ruler. He had probably his southern flank protected from the rising rival power, the Kalachuris,

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1. Raghuvamśa, XIII, 47:—' बन्धनाति मे बन्धुरगात्रि चक्षुर्दृष्टः कक्षा— निव चित्रकूटः ॥'. Also ibid., XII, 15, 24.
 2. Mahābhārata (B. O. R. I. ed.) Āranyakaparvan, 83. 53-55:—

ततः कालंजरं गत्वा पर्वतं लोकविश्रुतम् ।
तत्र देवहृदे स्नात्वा गोसहस्रफलं लभेत् ॥ ५३ ॥
आत्मानं साधयेत्तत्र गिरी कालंजरे नृप ।
स्वर्गलोके महीयेत नरो नास्त्यत्र संशयः ॥ ५४ ॥
ततो गिरिवरश्रेष्ठे चित्रकूटे विशापते ।
मंदाकिनीं समासाद्य नदीं पापप्रमोचनीम् ॥ ५५ ॥

3. There is hardly any good reason to reject the suggestion of Dr. F. Kielhorn about the identification of "Śrī Harsha the Lord of Chitrakūṭa" with the Chandella ruler Harsha. (See Ep. Ind., II, p. 301). Nor is there any better one to accept that suggested by Dr. V. V. Mirashi, who feels that "the Harsha who received protection from Kokalla was the Guhila prince of that name, whose rule *might have extended* to Chitrakūṭa (modern Chitor in Mewād)." (Italics ours) (Vide Mirashi, CII, Vol. IV, pt. i, introduction, p. lxxv).

due to this alliance. As he was a feudatory of the Gurjara Pratihāra rulers, he had his principality protected from the North too.

Beyond thus stabilising his reign, Srī Harsha may not have acquired any substantial territory, or gained any prominent victories over the contemporary rulers. To his time belonged Bhojadeva, who has left a number of records in the former Gwalior State, and also as far north as Peheva, ancient Pṛithūdaka. In other words, his western frontier was also quite secure in the hands of his sovereign, who belonged to the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty. This Bhojadeva was the supreme power of his day in the North, just as Kṛishṇa was in the South, as suggested by the Kalachuri record, referred to above.

Under these circumstances, there is hardly any warrant for supposing that any Gurjara Pratihāra ruler suffered a defeat at the hands of the enemies, during the time of Srī Harsha, and that the latter, therefore, reinstated him on the throne. Yet such is the conclusion, to which a small fragment of a long lithic record has led certain scholars.

(d) Yas'ovarman

The small fragmentary record in question "appears to have been found near the temple of Vāmana, at Khajuraho,"¹ and may, therefore, be taken to have belonged to the *debris* of that temple, and contemporaneous with it. The editor of it took it to refer to Harshadeva himself, and thought "that this prince first defeated Kshitipāladeva, but subsequently reinstated him in the government of his dominions."² A study of the metres

1. Ep. Ind., I. p. 121.

2. Ibid., p. 122.

used in the record would easily make it clear that the fragment, which represents only the right-hand side portions of a few lines of the inscriptional text, was a part of a much bigger record, which contained on its left-hand side on an average *no less than* 45 letters, now lost. In other words, much more is to be read than meets the eye, in the literary sense of these words, and hence, it is quite probable that the name of king Harsha, which we find mentioned in the very middle of the extant fragment (line 7) must have been succeeded by the name of at least one of his successors, i.e., Yaśovarman.

The record actually speaks of having "enthroned" ¹ king Kshitipāla (of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty), on the throne *again*. It is by no means necessary to suppose that it was he, who had dethroned him. Indeed, this reenthroning was probably only the next step of what, we learn elsewhere, king Yaśovarman did, viz., conquering the Chedi ruler, after the latter had defeated Kshitipāla. The Chedi ruler, who appears to have deprived the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperor of his throne, and whom king Yaśovarman in his turn defeated, may be identified with the Kalachuri ruler Yuvarāja-deva I, one of the most powerful rulers of his time.² Actually in that Khajuraho record, we find it stated that Yaśovarman courageously defeated the king of the Chedis, who had countless forces (with him), and who had (himself) set his foot on the crown of the famous Kshitipāla (i.e., defeated the latter).³

1. Ibid. :—“ उन्धेन श्रीक्षितिपालदेवनृपतिः सिंहासने स्थापितः । ”

2. Mirashi, CII, IV, pt. i, introduction, p. lxxxiv and following.

3. Ep. Ind., I, p. 122f.—‘ निरुयातश्चितिपालमौलिरचनाविन्यस्तपादा-
र्जुवं संख्येऽसंख्यवक्तं द्यजेष्ट गत-भीर्यथेदिराजं हठात् ॥ ’

Conflicting claims of the rulers of different dynasties at this time make the reconstruction of this period beset with difficulties. It would, however, appear that the Chedi ruler was able to defeat king Kshitipāla or Mahīpāla of the Gurjara-Pratihāra dynasty, chiefly on account of the fact that he got substantial aid of his near relative, the Rāshtrakūṭa king of Malkhed (ancient Mānyakhetā).¹ Some Rāshtrakūṭa records are known to claim for Kṛishṇa III of that dynasty that his southern conquests, resulting in his capture of all (i.e. several) forts, inspired such an awe in the mind of the (northern) Gurjara emperor, that he lost all hope of securing (or retaining) the fortresses of Kālañjara and Chitrakūṭa² at the very outset. The Jura Stonepillar Inscription of this time, found near Maihar, District Satna, would confirm the fact of invasion of the Rāshtrakūṭas in Baghelkhand area, just north of the Chedi territory,—which could take place only after passing through the latter.³ In the light of this, the claim can be understood as being in respect of the actual *conquest* of the two forts Kālañjara and Chitrakūṭa—so intimately associated with the Chandels in later times. As the Chandels were at this time only vassals of the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperors, (so that, even though they may have been in possession of the fort of Chitrakūṭa), all the territory around, including Baghelkhand, may be deemed to have owed allegiance to the Gurjara-Pratihāra emperors, till their defeat at the hands of the Chedis and the Rāshtrakūṭas.

1. See Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 101–103.

2. Ep. Ind., IV, p. 284:—‘यस्य पश्यक्षिताविलद्सिणदिग्दुर्मृष्टियमाकर्ष्य । गलिता गुर्जरहृदयात्कालंजर-चित्राकूटाशा ॥’

3. Contra Dr. A. S. Altekar, *Rāshtrakūṭas and their Times*, p. 113. Such aggressive acts of the Rāshtrakūṭas as occupying certain territories may well have been the cause of the Chedis falling out with them.

(e) **Capture of Kālañjara : Its Importance**

The invading forces were at long last defeated by the Gurjara Pratihāra ruler, with the aid of the Chandel prince,—if we are to believe the consistent claim made on behalf of the latter, as seen above. Indeed, it is claimed in a Khajuraho record that Yaśovarman “wrested the fort of Kālañjara, that embellished the face of the Earth like a Tilaka (saffron-mark).”¹ That, prior to these conquests of Kālañjara by the Rashtrakūṭa and the Chandel rulers, Kālañjara was in the hands of the Gurjara Pratihāra rulers is also a certainty. For we learn from the Barah record of the famous Gurjara Pratihāra ruler, Bhojadeva, that he donated that village of Balāka (probably Barāh), in the district of Udumbara, lying in the Division of Kālañjara within the Province of Kanauj.² The context makes it amply clear that Kālañjara was then included in the territory of Bhojadeva, the Gurjara Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj. It is no wonder that in such circumstances, the latter should have conferred upon the Chandel prince the *de jure* title of the “Lord of Kālañjara”, which he had probably already become *de facto*, by the recapture of Kālañjara Fort.

The capture of Kālañjara—Kalinjar of the Muslim chronicles—was no doubt an event of capital significance in the history of the Chandellas. It is not for nothing that since this time onward, we find the title “the Lord of Kālañjara (*Kālañjarādhipati*)” used for the Chandella rulers, both in the records of that dynasty and in

1. Ep. Ind., I, p. 122 :—“ जग्राह क्रीडया यस्तलकमिव भुवो यस्त
कालञ्जराद्धि ”

2. Ep. Ind., XIX, p. 18 :—“ श्रीकन्यकुबजमुखौ श्रीकालञ्जरमन्तः-
कान्तः पाति ”

those of others. It was so important that Al-Bīrūnī includes Kalinjar among the "two most famous fortresses of India."¹ We find king Dhaṅga, son and successor of Yaśovarman, being styled as "Kālañjaraśādhipati" in his Nanyaura copper-plate inscription of V. S. 1055 (=c. 998 A.D.).² The poet Bilhaṇa refers to king Karṇa of the Kalachuri dynasty as the uprooter of the "Lord of the hill of Kālañjara", evidently referring to some immediate successor of king Vidyādhara, possibly Devavarman.³ The connection of Kīrtivarman with Kālañjara is found frequently alluded to in the records of the Chandellas, including his own at Ajaigarh.⁴ We find the title *Kālañjaraśādhipati* used also in the case of some of his successors like Madanavarman, Paramardideva⁵ and Trailokyavarman,⁶ but finally it is flaunted by the last king of this dynasty Hammīravarman.⁷

1. Al-Bīrūnī, *India* (Sachau's ed.), Vol. I, p. 202; also see below p. 48.

2. Ind. Ant., XVI, p. 204; also see below p. 18 footnote 1.

3. *Vikramāñikadeva-charitam* (BSS ed.), XVIII, 93 :—
‘कालः कालज्ञरणिरिपते’

4. See Ajaigarh Rock Inscription of Bhojavarman, (Ep. Ind., I, p. 333) st. 9 :—“यः पीतशैलविषयेषु महीपतीनो चूडामणि समनुषेद्य समांजयच। श्रीकीर्तिवर्मनुपति विशिष्याभिधानं कालज्ञरस्य पिपलाहिक्या समेतम्॥” See our note “Viśishābhidhāna”; also Ajaigarh in ‘Itihāsa Anuśilana’ Gate Record of Kīrtivarman.

5. B. K. Banaras Copper-plate Inscription of Madanavarman :—“महाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वर-श्रीकालज्ञराधिपति-श्रीमन्मदनवर्मदेवो विजयी।” Cf. Augasi Grant of Madanavarman (I. A., XI, p. 202).

Also Samra Copper-plate Inscription of Paramardideva :—

“परमभट्टारक-महाराजाधिराज-परमेश्वर-परममाहेश्वर-कालज्ञराधिपति-श्रीपदमदिदेवः।” Also Ichchhawar Copper-plate Inscription of Paramardideva :—“परमभट्टारक-परमेश्वर-कालज्ञराधिपति-श्रीमत्परमाददेव।”

6. See page 48 f, below.

7. See page 52 f. below.

(f) Political Ascendance of the Chandellas:

As an ally and a vassal of the Gurjara Pratihāra emperor, king Lakshavarman alias Yaśovarman appears to have marched with his forces, right upto the frontiers of his far-flung empire. Thus alone can we reconcile the various claims made on his behalf in the Chandella records, with all the facts of history, known of his time. In one such record, he is credited with having taken his army to the Jumna, and then, further to the Ganges, in a military expedition.¹ In another, he is stated to have even "surpassed the forces of the Khaśas."² This reference to the Khaśas becomes all the more interesting, in view of what we find in a well-known illustration of the type of "narrative lyric" (Kathottha Muktaka), about the victory of king Kārttikeya over the king of the Khasas.³ Mr. V. V. Mirashi has done a distinct service to the history of this period, by proving that the king Kārttikeya of this

1. Ep. Ind., I, p. 122 f:—"मञ्जन्मतकरीन्द्रपङ्किलजलां धीलक्षवर्मा-
भिषधक शकतमः कलिन्दतनयां जहोः सुतां च कमात्॥"

2. Ibid., st. 23:—"गौडकीडालतासिस्तुलितखशब्दः कोशलः कोशलानां
नश्यत्कृमीरवारैः शिथिलितमिथिलः कालवन्मालवानाम् । सीदत्सावदचेदिः कुरुतरुषु
महसंज्वरो गुर्जराणां तस्मात्तस्यां स ज्ञे नृपकुलतिलः श्रीयशोवर्मराजः ॥"

For previous interpretations of the word "tulita" see Ep. Ind., I, 132, 277, I. H Q., XXV, p. 213, Mitra, ERK, p. 43, 50, Bose, H. B., p. 35, etc. It will be seen that most of the previous writers have accepted the translation of it, given by Dr. F. Kielhorn, who has taken it in the sense of "equalled". However, compare the Mahoba Stone Inscription, quoted below, p. 19, fn. 1, and also Megha-dūta, II, 1:—"विद्युदनं ललितविनिताः सेन्द्रचार्प
सचिनाः..... प्रासादास्वर्ण तुलयितुमलं यत्र तैस्तैविशेषैः ॥"

3. Kāvya-Mimāṃsa (G. O. S. ed.), p. 50:—"दत्वा बद्धगतिः
खसाविपतये देवीं श्रुवस्वामिनीं यस्मात्खण्डतसाहसो निवृते श्रीशर्म(? राम)गुप्तो
नृपः । तस्मिन्नेव हिमाळये गिरिगुहा-कोणकण्ठकिन्वरे गोयन्ते तव कार्तिकेय नगरखीणां
गम्भीः कीर्त्यैः ॥"

poem is none else than king Kshitipāla or Mahipāla of the Gurjara Pratihāra dynasty.¹ We may further explain that the Khaśas here are the same as the Shāhi rulers of Kabul, Swat and Waziristan, and that these were the successors of the legitimate descendants of the Kuśa or Kushāṇa contemporaries of the early Gupta emperor, who were known in their days under the titles "Shāhi Shāhāṇushāhi".

(We have stated our views in detail elsewhere that the incident regarding Rāmagupta and Dhruvadevī, immortalised in Devī-Chandragupta, had actually taken place at the time of the advance, made by Rāmagupta at the very beginning of his short-lived career, against the forces of his Kushāṇa contemporary.² We may now further explain that the Chinese letters "Kou-ch'uang," that designated the tribe of these adversaries of the Guptas, have been transcribed in Indian texts both as *Kuśas*, and as *Khaśas* (or *Khasas*). It will be seen that all this independently corroborates the information about the location of the battle-field, Alipura (or Alinapura), not far from Kahror (gathered from Al-Biruni, Bāṇabhaṭṭa and other ancient authorities), where Rāmagupta's famous brother Chandragupta killed the Kushāṇa ruler in a brilliant strategic move.)

Having extended their dominions upto the territory of the Shāhi kingdom, the Gurjara Pratihāras became quite naturally the most feared and the most hated adversaries of the Muslim invaders, knocking at the frontiers

1. Ind. Ant. (1932), p. 201; cf. J.B.O.R.S., Vol. XIV, p. 223.

2. See our works, *The Problem of the Kushāṇas and the Origin of Vikrama Saṁvat*, ABORI, p. 103 f; etc. Chandragupta Sāhasāṅka alias Vikramāditya and the Nine Jewels, Ind. Cul., V-VI; प्राचीन भारतीय संस्कृति, p. 319 f.

of India. As their vassal, king Yaśovarman must have encountered the kings of the Gaudas, the Kośalas (Dakṣiṇa-Kośalas), the Khaśas, the Kashmīras, the Mithilas, the Mālavas, the Chedis and the Kurus,—whom he is credited to have defeated.¹ Even in another stanza do we come across the claim that his armies marched against the kings of the foot-hills (the Terai regions) of the Himalayas.²

The above discussion may help us to understand the significance of an important historical stanza in the record, now found in the Lakshmaṇa Temple of Kha-juraho.³ We learn therefrom that the beautiful image of "Vaikuṇṭha" (a four-faced form of Viṣṇu), now to be found in the cella of that temple, was obtained from the Sāhi (Shāhi) king by king Herambapāla. The latter must have been a younger brother of Kārttikeya (*alias* Kshitipāla or Mahipāla), as correctly pointed out by Mm. V. V. Mirashi (after the mythological parallel) in the discussion of the aforesaid Muktaka verse.⁴ It is no matter of wonder if the younger brother, Herambapāla, reaped the fruit of victory by obtaining the image of Vaikuṇṭha from the Sāhi king, whom the elder brother, Kshitipāla *alias* Kārttikeya had subjugated. Yaśovarman himself is stated

1. Supra, p. 14, footnote 2.

2. Ep. Ind., I, p. 122f:—‘यसैन्यैः प्रतिकल्पपादपमुमालूनप्रसूनोच्चया:
प्रालेयाचलभेखलाः कथमपि कान्ताः शैने[दिवजये] ॥’

3. Ep. Ind., I, 122f (st. 43):—“कैलाशा(सा)द्वेष्टनाथः
शुद्धदिति च ततः कीरराजः प्रपेदे साहिस्तस्मादवाप्य पृथुतुरगबलेनात् हेरम्बपालः ।
ततसूनोदेवपालात्तमय इयपतेः प्राप्य निन्ये प्रतिष्ठां वैकुण्ठः(एठं) कुण्डितारिः
क्षितिपतितिलकः श्रीयशोवर्म-राजः ॥”

4. See Mirashi, CII, IV, pt. i, Introduction, p. lxxiv, footnote 2; Mirashi, SI, Vol. I, p. 150f. Ind. Ant. (1932), p. 201. Cf. Kshemeśvara's Chānda-Kauśika, Bharata-vākyā.

to have obtained the said image from king Devapāla, son of Herambapāla, probably as a mark of friendship and alliance. Devapāla is styled as "Hayapati", or "the Lord of the Horses" in that verse. Comparable to this is the fact that in the contemporary Muslim chronicles, we find the Gurjara Pratihāra rulers being respected for the strength of their well-known cavalry units.

There is a reference in an afore-quoted stanza in the lithic record in the Lakshmaṇa Temple, to the effect that king Yaśovarman even proved to be "an epidemic to the Gurjaras" (i.e., the Gurjara Pratihāra ruler of Kanauj). The strained relations, adverted to, may be referred to the time either of Devapāla or of his successor. In the former case, it is possible to suppose that the image was not presented as a gift by Devapāla, but was forcibly extracted from him. Such a conjecture is, however, hardly permissible for two reasons. The Chandellas could not be taken to have been so powerful at the time, as to extract any such thing from the suzerain power of those days, the Gurjara Pratihāras. Secondly, in Hindu ideology, it is not possible to conceive that a sacred object like an image may be extracted, or may be allowed to be extracted, by any party. Hence, we feel, the circumstances of strained relations between the two dynasties may be referred to a date posterior to that of the presentation of the image of Vaikunṭha.

(g) Dhaṅga, the Sovereign Ruler

The boundaries of the territory held by king DHAṄGA are defined poetically as spreading "as far as Kālañjara and upto Bhilsa on the river of Malwa (viz., the Betwa), as far as the banks of the Jumna and upto the frontiers of the Chedi kingdom, and as far as the wondrous for-

tress of Gwalior."¹ All these must have been in his kingdom. In one record, it is claimed that he even conquered the emperor of Kanauj, and thereby acquired sovereignty for himself in the battle-field.² In view of this, and, perhaps, out of reverence to a former Gurjara Pratihāra emperor, he appears to have assumed *nom de grace*, Vināyakapāladeva.³ In another record, curiously

1. Ep. Ind., I. p. 122 f. (st. 26) :—‘ आ कालश्वरमा च मालव-नदीतीरस्थितादभास्तः कालिनदीष्मितस्तटादित इतोऽप्य चेदिदशावधेः । आ तस्मादपि विस्मयैकानलया द्वोगमिधद्विरेष्यः शास्ति क्षितिमायतोऽजित-भुजव्यापार-ली-लाजितम् ॥ Dr. N. S. Bose, op. cit., p. 57-59, quite logically holds that “the Fort (of Gwalior) was occupied by (Kachchha-paghāta king) Vajradāman for the Chandellas.”

2. Mau Stone Inscription of Madanavarman (Ep. Ind., I, p. 197) :—“ … [धंग] नामा नेरेन्द्रः ॥ [नत] निखिलनूर्पयः कान्यकुञ्जे नेरेन्द्रे समरभुवि विजित्य प्राप साम्राज्यमुच्चैः ।”

3. At the end of the Lakshmana Temple Inscription at Khajuraho of Dhaṅga, dated V. S. 1011 (c. 954 A.D.), (line 28) we have:—‘ श्रीविनायकपालदेवे पालयति वसुवां…’ Ep. Ind. I. p. 122 f.

This refers to king Vināyakapāladeva as ruling over the Earth at the time. On the other hand, in line 26, we find king Dhaṅga himself mentioned as ruling over the Earth, as a sovereign ruler. The two statements can be reconciled only in this way. Dr. N. S. Bose has already come to the same conclusion, from a different line of arguments, that is even more plausible. He points out that “we have inscriptions of Devapāla (A.D. 948), Mahipāla (A.D. 956), Vatsarāja (A.D. 957) and Vijayapāla (A.D. 960), which are dated in close proximity” and that in this rapid succession of Gurjara Pratihāra rulers, there is hardly any room for yet “another king Vināyakapāla II, ruling in A.D. 954.” (*History of Candellas*, p. 39). When the successor of Vināyakapāladeva or Herambapāla of the Gurjara Pratihāra dynasty, viz., Devapāla, had already begun ruling in c. 948 A.D., the existance of this Vināyakapāladeva of 954 A.D. offered a puzzle,—which, we believe, may, in the light of the above, be now regarded as solved. (Dr. Mitra ERK., p. 56).

enough, king Dhaṅga is stated to have surpassed might in "Hammīra, who had great forces" at his command.¹ As Hammīra here evidently stands for 'Amīr'—used as a title of the leader of the Muslim forces knocking at the frontiers of India, probably Subuk-tegin,—the intention to praise his invincible might is clear. The panegyrist's praise was profusely bestowed upon this ruler, stating that he received at his court the king of Kosala (? = south Kosala with capital at Ratanpur), Kratha (=Vidarbha, Berar), Siṁhala (Ceylon), Kuntala (Mid-Kṛishṇa valley) etc.² Elsewhere we find that as a result of his conquests, the wives of the kings of Kāñchī (south-east Andhra), Andhra (lower Godavari valley), Rāḍhā (West Bengal), Aṅga (East Bihar) etc. languished in his prison.³

(h) Chandellas at c. 1000 A.D. and thereafter :—

The Indian panegyrist's *prasasti* (praise) may always be taken with a grain of salt: Here it may be much more than that. However, the grant of a neighbouring village, made by king Dhaṅga while residing in the city of Kāśikā (Banaras), that is adverted to in a copper-plate record dated c. 998 A.D., would bear out his claim to the country of the Kāśīs, in c 1000 A.D.,⁴ just as the incidental

1. Mahoba Stone Inscription :—‘ सारेण यः स्वभुजयोभुवनातिभारं हृषीं चोरमप्यातत्वं वा लुलयाश्वकार ॥ ’

2. Khajuraho (Marakatesvara Temple) Inscription, st. 45 : देवालोकय कोसलेश्वरमितस्तुपौ समाकर्ष्यतामादेशः कथनाय सिंहलपते नत्वा बहिः स्थीयताम् । त्वं विज्ञापय कुन्तलेनद्रवदने दत्त्वोत्तीयाश्वलं तस्यास्थानगतस्य वेत्रिभिरिति दयर्क्तं समुक्तं वचः ॥

As pointed out by A. Cunningham (Cunningham, ASR, II, p. 451 f.), this is “more than usually fulsome and ridiculous.”

3. Khajuraho (Marakatesvara Temple) Inscription, st. 46 : का त्वं काश्चौनृपातेवनिता, का त्वमन्ध्राधिपत्नी, का त्वं राढापरिवृद्धवधूः का त्वमहो-द्रवपत्नी । इत्यालापाः समरजयिनो यस्य वैरिप्रियाणां कारागारे सजलनयनेदीवराणां चमूदुः ॥ ’ (Slightly corrected).

4. I.A., XVI, p. 203 f.

allusion to his putting an end to his own life at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna, found in the Lakshmana Temple inscription, would point out to his hold over Prayāga (Allahabad). With the forts of Gwalior and Kalinjar in the west and the *tīrthas* (sacred places) of Allahabad and Banaras in the east, he could be considered as the real lord of the Gangetic plains in those days.

The position that the Chandellas held among their contemporaries in the decades around 1000 A.D. is indicated by the following :—"When in about 989 A.D. Jayapāla¹ resolved to make a supreme effort to save India from the aggressions of Sabuktigīn, he summoned to his aid the rulers of Delhi, Ajmer, Kalinjar and Kanauj. Again in 1008 A.D., when Jayapāla's son Ānandapāla, thought of invoking the aid of his Hindu compatriots to stem the tide of Mahmud's invasion, he sent emissaries to the Rajas of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kalinjar, Delhi and Ajmer."²

(1) Vidyādhara

As noticed elsewhere, there is evidence to show that the last of the great Chandels, king Vidyādhara was, perhaps, the author of the Kandariya Mahādeva temple.³ Militarily also he appears to have been a great power sufficiently prominent to attract the attention of his contemporaries, both Indian and foreign.

Thus, there exists an interesting inscription to show that Arjuna, a Kachhua (Kachhapaghāta) ruler of Gwalior, killed the Gurjara Pratihāra emperor Rājyapāla.

1. A Hindu king of Kabul, Swat and Waziristan regions, belonging to a dynasty that substituted the ancient Shahi dynasty.

2. Mirashi (CII, IV.) pt. I, p. lxxxviii. R. S. Tripathi's *History of Kanauj* p. 282-283.

3. See our "Tourists Khajuraho."

in a battle, at the bidding of this Chandel ruler, Vidyādhara.¹ The Fort of Gwalior was, as we have seen, within the territory of the Chandellas in the days of Dhaṅga, and there is no reason to suppose that it did not continue to be so during the days of Vidyādhara. It is, therefore, not unnatural that the credit of "defeating the king of the whole of Kanauj" (Rājyapāla) is given to king Vidyādhara himself, in the records of his successors.² Contemporary Muslim chronicles would also vouchsafe that the weak resistance, that the Gurjara Pratihāra emperor Rājyapāla put up in the face of the forays of the iconoclast, Amīr Mahmūd of Ghazna, was highly resented by the confederacy of Hindu rulers, headed by Vidyādhara, and that the latter, therefore, overthrew and killed that emperor, and thereafter, himself attempted to organize vigorous resistance. It would appear that the great Bhoja of Dhārā did not take the invasion of others' territories seriously, and was more concerned with crossing swords with the mighty Chedi contemporary Gāṅgeyadeva. Naturally the main burden of offering resistance to the iconoclast, who was responsible for the destruction of a number of important temples at Mathurā, fell on the prince Vidyādhara Chandel.

(j) **Amīr Mahmūd's Invasion :**

The Muslim version is found in the accounts left by Ibn ul' Athir, Nizamuddin, and others,—of whom, Dr. H. C. Ray after a careful comparison concludes, the

1. Ep. Ind., II, p. 237, (Dubkund Inscription of Kachchhapaghāta Vikramasimha, dated V. S. 1145-1088 A.D.):—
“ श्रीविद्याधरदेवकायनिरतः श्रीराज्यपाल हठात्कण्ठास्थिच्छदनकेबाणनिवृहृत्वा महत्याहृते । ”

2. Ep. Ind., I, 197 f. (Mau Stone Inscription of Madanavarman):—‘ विहंत-सकल-कन्याकुञ्जभूपालभर्त् ’

former was the most accurate, despite certain exaggerations. As regards the army at his disposal, the reliable Ibn ul' Athir states that he had 56,000 cavalry, 184,000 infantry, and 746 elephants—these being the highest figures for each group to be found in any Muslim account. After stating how Rājyapāla was defeated, Ibn ul' Athir continues—"Their king (Rājyapāla) fled, wounded, and did not know what to do. So he sent a message to Yamin ud Daula (Mahmūd) requesting peace. But Mahmūd refused and did not agree to any conditions except acceptance of Islam and slew innumerable of his soldiers."¹

Immediately thereafter, on learning of the murder of Rājyapāla by men of Vidyādhara's army, Mahmūd marched against him and came into contact with some advance guards—"Yamin ud Daula sent a party of his infantry to fight him, and Bida (Vidyādhara) also sent out against him a smaller number, and both the armies continued reinforcing their soldiers till the two opposing forces increased in numbers and the battle became vehement. At last the night overtook them and parted them."² "According to Ibn ul Athir, before effecting a direct clash, the men of the Sultan (had also) diverted the course of the river nearby."³ The result appears to be that baffled by the rise of the water at unexpected places, king Vidyādhara ordered what is called these days "a strategic retreat", under the cover of darkness, during the night. Muslim accounts agree that the next morning, finding that Vidyādhara's camp was deserted, the 'Sultan thanked God for this unexpected good luck, and making sure that no ambush has been laid, he gave orders for the plundering of the camp of the army.'⁴

1. Bose, H. C., p. 99.
3. Mitra, ERK, p. 79.

2. Ibid. p. 55-56.
4. Ibid.

There was good reason to thank the Almighty for this good luck; for, we learn from the *Tabakat i Akbari*, that when Vidyādhara refused to accept Islam and "to place his neck under the yoke of subjection,... the Sultan went to an elevated spot, so that he might look at and make an estimate of the strength" of Vidyādhara's army. "Then, when he saw what a vast host it was, he repented for his coming; and placing the forehead in supplication on the ground, prayed for victory and conquest from the Giver of all mercies."¹ Apparently, the great iconoclast returned after this first skirmish, without further pursuit, with the vast booty, he must have thus gathered. This was in c. 1018-19 A.D. (409-410 A.H.)

As Firishta states, "the war-like disposition of Mahmūd could not long remain at peace."² Having known of the strength of Vidyādhara, Mahmūd must have come with considerably greater force at his command, than he had done on the previous occasion. In 413 A.H. (=1022 A.D.), according to Nizamuddin, Mahmūd "again invaded the kingdom" of Vidyādhara.³ Firishta, while agreeing with this, puts the date a year later, viz., at 414 A.H. (=c. 1023 A.D.). If, as the accounts would show, the war was somewhat drawn out and indecisive,

1. Bose, H. C., p. 56.

2. Mitra, ERK, p. 80.

3. Ibid. The apparent discrepancies that formerly existed between what one found in the Muslim chronicles on the one hand and the inscriptions on the other, were first resolved by Dr. H. C. Ray, DHNI. II, p. 690-691. The discrepancies related in the main to the name of the Chandel prince, attacked by Mahmūd. All subsequent writers have borrowed his main ideas and material, in this.

both the writers may well be correct. The skirmishes began in A.H. 413 and ended in A.H. 414.

From a detailed study of the accounts left by the Muslim writers, it is plausibly concluded that neither of the two main strongholds of the Chandels, viz., those of Gwalior and Kalanjar, appears to have been captured by the Muslim invader.¹ All the same, it is made equally probable that king Vidyādhara was confined to the 'Fort of Kalinjar', during the last lap of the war. Having achieved this, and having found the Fort impregnable, there was no reason why Mahmūd should not satisfy his cupidity with the riches of Khajuraho and Mahoba, that lay rather unprotected. There is a clear reference in one of these accounts to the fact that the Sultan (Mahmūd) received from this place "much treasure and precious gems",² which may well refer to the riches of the temples at Khajuraho and the palaces at Mahoba. Any critical eye would see that the destruction at Khajuraho is not complete, but is substantial; whereas that at Mahoba is wellnigh complete. An obvious conclusion is that while the latter place was ravaged leisurely, the former was not. Not that the iconoclast Amīr wanted in any way to spare the former. There must have been some other reason,—that of king Vidyādhara trying to regroup his forces, while the iconolast was busy destroying the architectural and sculptural treasures at Khajuraho. The loot and destruction of the palaces at Mahoba were not such a challenge to the indomitable spirit of Vidyādhara, as the destruction of the temples at Khajuraho was.

1. Mitra, ERK, p. 82. 2. Bose, H. C., p. 60.

The gems might have well included the diamonds of Panna.

Not long previously, having utterly defeated Rājyapāla of the Gurjara Pratihāra line of Kanauj (Kānyakubja) and destroyed his army, Sultan Mahmūd had immediately proceeded to ransack the riches of the temple of Kanauj and Mathura, which he utterly destroyed. The Muslim accounts, which refer to the destruction, also speak in glowing terms about their art, stating that they were looked upon as the 'wonders' (of the world.)¹ They do not allude to Khajuraho in the same terms, anywhere. King Rājyapāla, having been himself destroyed, could not save those temples from complete destruction. King Vidyādhara, being still a power to reckon with, was in a position to save from complete destruction, though not from damage and desecration, the temples at Khajuraho,—as is to be witnessed all over Khajuraho.

The temples, that were so damaged and desecrated for the Hindus, are found being taken over shortly afterwards by the Jainas for their faith. While there is enough evidence for this, there is little or no evidence of any fresh temple building activity of the Hindus, after Amīr Mahmūd's invasion of Khajuraho,—which must have come immediately in the wake of his conquest of Kalanjar Fort in c. 1022–23 A.D.

(k) Decline of the Chandellas and Rise of the Kalachuris :

The defeat of king Vidyādhara at the hands of Mahmūd of Ghazna appears to have given a shattering blow to the Chandel power. Till that date, we find a number of major inscriptions of the Chandels at Khajuraho, one of them evidently mentioning it as a capital.²

1. R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 284 f.

2. See Khajuraho (Marakateśvara Temple). Inscription of Dhāngadeva, dt. V. S. 1059.

Al-Bīrūnī, a protege of Mahmūd and his son, also refers to Khajuraho as the capital of Jajhauti¹ (Jejākabhukti of Chandel records). But thereafter, this dynasty may have actually shifted its seat to another place, more inaccessible,—possibly Kālanjara itself, where a number of its later records are found.

The decline of the Chandels may have actually started immediately after the death of Dhaṅga. The death of a king always brought in its wake a crisis in the history of the ruling dynasty in those days in India, and it often served as a signal for the enemies of that dynasty to rise against it. There is little evidence to presume that king Vidyādhara continued to wield sway over the Mid-Gangetic plain including Prayāga (Allahabad) and Kāśī (Banaras). On the other hand, we find the Kalachuri king Gāngeyadeva of Tripuri overrunning the plains of Baghelkhand, the Mid-Gangetic valley and regions as far north as Tirhut (in Bihar).

As to Baghelkhand, his control of this region is proved by a stone inscription of his reign, dated in Kalachuri Era 772 (=c. 1019 A.D.), which originally belonged to Mukundpur in Rewa District, and which is now in Dhubela Museum, Nowgong.² He had made Prayāga

1. Al-Bīrūnī's India, Vol. I, p. 200 f.

2. As this is one of the most misunderstood of the inscriptions of this time, we are publishing it elsewhere. Even eminent scholars like Dr. V. V. Mirashi have misread it to conclude that king Gāngeyadeva Kalachuri was in c. 1019 A.D. only a vassal of another ruler, and had a title no better than "Mahārha-Mahā-Mahattaka,"—which, in reality, he did not have. Mahā-Mahattaka is a title, borne only by vassals in those days. From

Footnote continued from page 26

this misreading, and out of a necessity to find out a sovereign ruler for this vassal, Dr. Mirashi has concluded that the Chandella prince Vidyādhara was the emperor, to whom he owed allegiance. He even further concludes that in that capacity of a vassal, not only he, but king Bhoja of Dhārā sent him contingents of their armies, to serve under him, in his fight against Mahmud. (Vide ABORI., XXIII, 1942, p. 296 f., Mirashi, CII, IV, pt. I, p. lxxxix, etc.).

The correct reading of the portion of the inscription, as found by us on the stone itself, is as following:—‘अश्वं (ज्ये) ह
महा-महत्क- [श्रीम] [हारा॒ः] [वत्] [“”] * श्री [गांगेयदेव] रा [ज्ये]

Mahā-Rāvata (or *Mahā-Rāuta*) is the same as *Mahā-Rājaputra* a title found in Kalanjar Inscription of Madanavarman, dt. V. S. 1188–1131 A.D. (JASB. 1848 p. 321; Cunningham, ASR, XXI, p. 34 f). See also Lal Pahadi Rock Inscription of Narasimhadeva, dt. K. E. 929 (B).

The reading given by Dr. Mirashi, which started for him the above “chain reaction” is as follows:—“महार्ह-महामहत्क-श्री
[महाराज ?] श्री [गांगेयदेव] रा [ज्ये] ”

Even a reference to the plate, reproducing the estampage-impression in his volume, would bear out some of the letters, read by us above. Actually, king Gāngeyadeva is given here no title whatsoever, excepting “Śrī.”

As is shown above, king Gāngeyadeva was already a Mahārājādirāja and was acknowledged as a sovereign ruler, even in the distant Tirhut, in the same year—c. 1019 A.D.—according to a manuscript, which thus testifies to the far-flung extent of his Empire. As is also shown above, this capture of Tirhut by Gāngeyadeva is even testified to, by the inscription of his successors. Under these circumstances, we think, the meaning of the phrase in the Chandel record that the “king Bhoja, accompanied by the chief of the Kalachuris, attended upon Vidyādhara”, cannot be taken anything more than a veiled tribute to the glory of the two contemporaries,—and certainly not in the literal sense, in which Dr. Mirashi has understood it. These two, Bhoja and Gāngeyadeva, are the only two rulers of India, that are mentioned by Al-Birūnī in his *India*.

as one of his seats,¹ and is also known to have held Kāśī (Banaras) under his sway.²

The evidence of coins would show that the eastern districts of Uttar Pradesh had passed into his hands;³ and the inscriptions of his successors claim that he had captured even Champāranya, i.e., Champaran, in Tirhut. His conquest of Champaran is further corroborated by a Nepalese manuscript of Ramayan, which is dated in V. S. 1076 (= 1019 A.D.), and which mentions "Mahārājadhīrāja" (sovereign) Gāngeyadeva as the ruler of Tirabhukti (Tirhut).⁴ Gāngeyadeva is described in a record of the Chandels as having conquered the world⁵ —which itself would show that despite all claims on

1. It is difficult to conceive that king Gāngeyadeva could consecrate his life, along with his hundred wives, at the sacred confluence, if he had not held it as a seat in his life-time. (See below p. 29, fn. 1). As we know from the Banaras copper-plate inscription of his son, Lakshmikarṇa (or Karṇadeva), the first annual funeral ceremony (Srāddha) of Gāngeyadeva was performed by the son in the year 793 K. E. (= 1042 A.D.), while he was at his camp at Prayāga (Allahabad): This camp must have been originally established here some time before the death of Gāngeyadeva.

2. In the above-mentioned grant, Karṇadeva donates "the village of Sruti (that was) included in the *bhukti* of Kāśī". (See Mirashi, CII, I, p. 244, where the word "*bhukti*" is misread as "*bhūmi*" in the ligature, formed in the phrase given).

3. Vincent Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta (Oxford, 1906), p. 250 f.

4. Bheraghat Inscription of Gayākarṇadeva, dt. V. S. 1155 (= 1098 A.D.):—“ चम्पारण्य-विदारणोदूतयशः शुभ्रांशुना भासयन् । ”

5. Mirashi, S. I., Vol. II, p. 83:— “ संवत् १०७६ आषाढ चत्ति महाराजाधिराज-पुण्यावलोक-सोमवशोद्धव-गद्धवज-श्रीमद्भागवदेव-भुज्यमान-तीरमुक्तौ... ”

6. Ep. Ind., I, p. 222 f.

behalf of king Vidyādhara, he (Gāngeyadeva) was reckoned as a very powerful ruler of his time. Indeed, like Dhaṅga, Gāngeyadeva, too, is known to have put an end to his life, at the confluence of the two sacred rivers, the Ganges and the Jumna (i.e., at Prayāga or Allahabad).¹

Again, according to Muslim chronicles, Ahmad Niyal Tigīn, Governor of the Punjab, carried out a foray in c. 1033 A.D. against Banaras, which then belonged to one Gang, who must be the same as Gāngeyadeva Kalachuri.² There is reason to believe that this foray was made possible at this date, as Gāngeyadeva was facing serious troubles at the hands of king Bhoja of Dhārā (Dhar),—who is credited with having won a great victory over the former.³ A little before this date, in c. 1030 A.D., Al-Bīrūnī recognizes him as an important ruler of India, when he mentions by name only him and the king Bhoja-deva of Dhar.⁴ The find of a number of gold coins of Gāngeyadeva at Isurpur,⁵ in Sagar District, would also show the Chandel kingdom had been whittled down towards the south by king Gāngeyadeva.

There can be little to doubt, therefore, that king Gāngeyadeva had captured even the eastern province of Mid-Gangetic regions, including Prayāga (Allahabad) and Kāśī (Banaras), not long after the death of Dhaṅga; and that, to that extent, and also in the region of Sagar the kingdom of the Chandellas had declined after the

1. Khairha and Jabalpur grants of Yaśahkarna :— “प्राप्ते प्रयागवटमूलनिवेशबन्धौ सार्थं शतेन गृहिणीभिरसुत्र मुक्तिम् ! ”

2. Tarikh-us-Subuktigin.

3. See now our *Pārijāta-Mañjari*, (1966), p. xiii, *Text*, p. 1, *Commentary*, p. 30, *Translation*, p. 10-2.

4. Al-bīrūnī's India (Sachau), p. 202.

5. J. A. S. B. (Num. Suppl.), No. XVIII (1921), p. 123.

death of that ruler, and so it remained even during the rule of Vidyādhara.

The above rather detailed discussion was necessitated by the fact that some renowned historians of the past have represented the relative greatness of the Chandella ruler Vidyādhara and of the Kalachuri king Gāngeyadeva erroneously. Depending upon the testimony of the contemporary Muslim chronicles, Dr. H. C. Ray has concluded that "in the reign of Vidyādhara, they (the Chandellas) were regarded by the Muslim writers as the most powerful kings in India."¹ This, indeed, does not appear to be true.

Even the Muslim accounts agree in stating that among the contemporaries, king Bhojadeva of Dhārā (Dhar) was the one, whom Amir Mahmūd deliberately avoided to fight. Later records of the imperial Gāhadavālas often state that the mantle of suzerainty fell, after king Bhojadeva and king Karṇadeva (Kalachuri) had passed away, on a Gāhadavala prince, named Chandradeva, clearly indicating thereby as to who was the greatest king of the time of Bhojadeva.² The signal defeat that he inflicted upon Gāngeyadeva, father of Karṇadeva, entitled him to this supreme position in his time. And yet, scholars have relied upon, or believed in, the later Chandel records, when they glorify Vidyādhara that he was attended upon by Bhojadeva and the Kalachuri chief (? Gāngeyadeva) like pupils. In conformity with such conclusions, there are certain other suggestions offered by other scholars, who believe that king Bhojadeva and Gāngeyadeva must have sent contingents of their armies, to fight under the Chandel ruler Vidyādhara, and that, perhaps,

1. Ray, DHNI, II, p. 698.

2. Basahi Copperplate of Govindachandra, dt. V.S. 1161.

on that account, they may have been looked upon as pupils of that ruler. Credulity can go little further.

However, in the same line of thinking and even confirming it, is the important argument, based upon Dr. V. V. Mirashi's misreading of an inscription. In the latter, Śrī Gāngeyadeva is alleged to have held, in the year c. 1019 A.D. (i.e., the same year as when he was Mahārājādhira in Tīrabhukti or Tirhut), the title of "Mahārha-Mahā-mahattaka." As shown in a foot-note above, the stone record itself gives an entirely different reading : making out "Mahā-Mahattaka-Mahā-Rāvata" as the title of quite another person, whose name is lost, while Gāngeyadeva is mentioned without any regnal title, but only as ruling at the time.¹

Some authors like Dr. N. S. Bose (following Dr. Mirashi) hold that Gāngeyadeva was a vassal of Vidyādhara in 1019 A.D.,² but that, following the latter's defeat at the hands of Mahmūd, things rapidly changed for both the dynasties, so as to become exactly the reverse during the days of the latter's successor Vijayapālā. From the Chandel inscription, referring to king Gāngeyadeva as conquering the world, Dr. Bose concludes that this "indicates the Kalachuri ruler's supremacy over the Chandellas" in the days of Vijayapālā.³ A reference to the said inscription, which is fragmentary, would show that here, probably there was reference to the victory, that some Chandel king, possibly Vijayapālā, claimed to have won over king Gāngeyadeva. This may be in the last fight, that the latter had to put up with king Bhoja-deva of Dhar, when king Vijayapālā may have allied himself with that king, to claim a share in his victory over Gāngeyadeva.

1. Supra, p. 26, fn. 2. 2. Bose, H. C., p. 66. 3. Ibid., p. 69.

II. NON-PRODUCTIVE PERIOD AT KHAJURAHO

A. A Change in Social Atmosphere

The invasion of Mahmūd of Ghazna undoubtedly left a number of after-effects. It must have not only weakened the power of the Royalty, but also that of the priesthood of Khajuraho. Henceforward, one finds the construction of new buildings of Hindu temples at Khajuraho, given up almost for good. On the other hand, whatever construction or reconstruction appears to have taken place here, belonged not to the Hindu temples, but to the Jain ones, and it took place not at the hands of the Royalty, but at the hands of the merchants of the Jain community.

While the Royalty was at this time probably busy taking measures to protect itself, strengthen its strongholds, and somehow stave off the inevitable doom, the Jain merchants were enriching themselves by all the means at their command, finding that the Royalty was too weak to punish them, according to the tenets of the *Kauṭiliya Arthaśāstra*. The times of difficulties, of foreign invasions and internal feuds, of rapacity of the ruthless conqueror and irresponsibility of the powerless local ruler, provided a much-coveted opportunity to two communities at this period of Indian history, viz., the Kāyasthas and the Jain merchants. It is these alone (beside the Royalty), that were then able to corner the wealth of the nation, and were also thereby in a position to donate towards temple-building or image-making activities, as shown by contemporary inscriptive evidence.

B. Dhaṅga II :—

At Khajuraho, we have numerous inscriptions, after this date, of the Jain merchants (Sreshṭhins) causing the images of Jain Tīrthaṅkara to be fashioned in black granite or in other stones. Indeed, on this ground, the numerous other uninscribed images of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras may mostly be credited to the Jain merchants and none else. In addition to this, there was the activity of repairs and renovation of the Hindu temples, by the Jaina merchants, soon after the invasion. Thus, we find that not long after the original Vishṇu temple (now called Parshvanath temple) was destroyed and desecrated by the Muslim invaders, it was appropriated by the Jains for their divinities. Such a conversion is borne out not only by the representation of the Hindu divinities all over the monument, but also by the fixture of a Jain Tīrthaṅkara image and by the inscriptions on the door-jambs, of the Parshvanath temple.

We find one Śrī Vāsavachandra styled as the Preceptor of the then ruling king (Mahārāja)—evidently of the Chandel dynasty—recording the erection of the image in this temple in the month of Vaiśākha, in Saṁvat 1111 (c. 1054 A.D.).¹ There is some doubt attached to the date

1. The date of this record is unfortunately controversial. There are two reasons for this: One is that there is an over-writing between the numbers 0 and 1 in respect of the century digit in this number. The result of this has been queer: Sir A. Cunningham, who originally read it as V. S. 1011, later came to the conclusion that 1111 is the correct reading, as per the correction. On the contrary, Dr. F. Kielhorn concluded that the date was originally written as V. S. 1111, and that it was subsequently corrected to V. S. 1011. (See Cunningham, ASR. II, p. 433 f., XXI, p. 67, Ep. Ind., I, p. 135 f., JABS, p. 279 f.).

However, Dr. Keilhorn's palaeographical studies inevitably led him to conclude that the letters of this record may have been written, perhaps, not earlier than the thirteenth century A.D. In other words, the great epigraphist looks upon this as a genuine copy of an earlier record, which was actually dated in V. S. 1011, i.e., the supposed time of the ruler Dhāṅga-rāja, mentioned in the record.

of this record, which most scholars have read as 1011 V. S. (= 954 A.D.),¹ and this latter reading is taken to be strengthened by the fact that the Chandel king mentioned in the record is Dhāṅgarāja. He is taken to be the same famous ruler Dhanga, whose name is found in the Marakatesvara Temple inscription, and who is known to have belonged to the latter half of the tenth century A.D.

However, king Dhanga I (as we may now call the well-known Dhanga of the 10th cent. A.D.), was too ardent a Saivite to become a pupil of any Jain teacher. Secondly, there is conclusive evidence to prove within this record and in an adjacent record to show that the paleographic test for this is not so deceptive, that the record is really late, and that the date should be read only as 1111 of the Vikram Samvat. The record mentions a number of gardens, that were donated to the temple of Ādinātha by the Jain merchant (Sreshṭhin) Pāhila by name,² and it gives his genealogy, besides the fact that the image in the shrine was fashioned due to his munificence.

This conclusion about the date receives a striking confirmation from another record, found at Darbat, near Mahoba (Dist. Hamirpur). It records that two Jain merchants (Sreshṭhins), by name Pāhila and Jījū, got fashioned an image of Tīrthaṅkara Śāntinātha in the year V. S. 1132 (= c. 1075 A.D.).² The record also mentions Vāsavendu, who is the same as Vāsava-chandra of the above record of the disputed date. Undoubtedly the Seth Pāhila and Vāsavendu of the year V. S. 1132 were already associated together in such religious activities, in V. S. 1111, and not in V. S. 1011.

1. Ep. Ind., I, p. 153.

2. I.H.Q., XXX p. 183 f,

The long record of V. S. 1111 occurs on one side (the right proper) of the door-frame of the Parshvanath Temple. On the other side (the left proper), there are some small inscriptions, one of which is in letters similar to those of the above records. It records the names of Āchārya Devachandra and his pupil Kumudachandra,—both of whom were evidently Jain preceptors. As the temples of the Jains at Khajuraho belonged to the Digambars, and as Khajuraho was one of the most famous Jain temple-sites of the 11th–12th cent. A.D., we may identify this Kumudachandra with the far-famed Digambara teacher, Kumudachandra, who is mentioned in the Prabhāvaka-charita and other works, and who is stated to have belonged to the north and to have gone to Anhilwara to conquer the Svetambar teacher, Devasuri,—of the time of Jaysimha Siddharāja i.e., about the beginning of the twelfth cent. A.D. This would also corroborate the fact that the disputed inscription, that is recorded in letters not very different therefrom, should have been inscribed not much earlier than about the beginning of the 12th cent. A.D., (i.e., about the latter half of the 11th cent. A.D.).

C. Devavarman :

Clearly then, king Dhāṅgarāja of c. 1054 A.D. is the second ruler of that name. If this Dhāṅgarāja did not succeed Devavarman of the inscriptions of V. S. 1107 and 1058(1150–51 A.D.) then Dhāṅgaraja may just be another name of that ruler himself. As is shown above, Dhāṅga I

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1. Prabandha-chintāmaṇi, III, 1, (Prabhāvaka-charita, Devasūri-prabandha). Prof. H. L. Jain, in *The Struggle for Empire* (HCIP. Vol. V), p. 432, states :—"His co-disciple Vādi-deva Sūri, is said to have held a disputation with the Digambara teacher Kumudachandra at the court of Jayasimphadeva in Anahilapattana and vanquished him."

had probably assumed the more respectable appellation of Vināyakapāladeva about a hundred years earlier. We also know that the names of some early rulers of this dynasty, viz., of Jejā and Bijāka were likewise Sanskritised into the respectable ones of *Jaya-sakti* and *Vijaya-sakti*.

After the inroads of Mahmūd of Ghazna, it would appear, the Chandella kingdom was hemmed in by the two great powers of those days, the Paramāras and the Kala churis, that were spared the depredations of the iconoclast. Virtually their growth was at the cost of the weakened Chandella kingdom, that had its riches ransacked or destroyed by the invader. However, the latter kingdom held its own in its traditional strongholds, and we find the Charkhari grant of Devavarman (V. S. 1108-1051 A.D.)¹ recording a donation in Bhūtapallikā on the Jumna, indicating that he continued to rule over regions south of the Jumna, when Prayāga and Kāśī were governed by the Chedis, who also controlled the Sagardamoh region, and when the Paramāras controlled Bhopal-Vidisha region. Even at this juncture, when the fortunes of the Chandellas were at a low ebb, they held their own as independent rulers, for the inscriptions refer to them as "Kālañjarādhipati" and as having had "great feudatories" (Mahā-sāmantas) worshipping at their feet.²

D. Regaining the Lost Glory :

King Bhojadeva of Dhar succumbed to the conspiracy of the neighbouring rulers in c. 1055 A.D., with the result that the mantle of sovereignty, he wore, fell on the shoulders of the most powerful of them, Karṇadeva of Tripuri. While the latter thus avenged the defeat of his

1. Ep. Ind., II, p. 125 f.

2. Ibid., Ind. Ant., XVI, p. 201 f.

father Gāngeyadeva, he also aped the military achievements of king Bhojadeva, though he could not do it in the literary and other fields. He retained control over Prayāga-Kāśī region, as is testified to by the inscriptions.

E. Kirtivarman :

It would appear that immediately after the death of king Devavarman of the Chandella dynasty, and the accession of Kirtivarman to the throne, Karna advanced against that kingdom, and even achieved great successes against him in initial stages. From literary records, it would appear that Kirtivarman had lost even his throne, and from inscriptional ones, it would seem that he was on the point of being captured.

We learn from the famous moralist play of Krishṇamīśra, named Prabodha-chandrodaya, that the general Gopāla, the patron of the play-wright, was the chief of the vassals of Kirtivarman, and that he regained the throne for him, or to use the words of the play, consecrated the chief of the rulers Kirtivarman *again* on the (throne of) sovereignty.¹ He is stated to have obtained complete victory in the battlefield, against the ocean-like (vast) army of Karṇa (Kalachuri),² and he was responsible for firmly establishing (again) the sovereignty of the rulers of the lineage of the Moon (Chandrānvaya), on the earth, when it was destroyed by the king of the Chedis, that was 'Fire of Destruction' to all the kings.³

1. Prabodha-chandrodaya, I. 4:—‘साम्राज्ये कीर्तिवर्मो नरपाति-तिलको
येन भूयोऽन्यषेचि ।’

2. Ibid. (Sanskrit rendering):—कर्ण-सेना-सागरं निर्भयं मधुमयनेनेव
कीर-समुद्रमासादिता समर-विजय-लक्ष्मीः ।

3. Prabodha-chandrodaya, I:—‘स कल-भूपाल-कुल-प्रलय-कालामि-सद-
चेदिपतिना समुन्मूलितं चन्द्रान्वय पार्थिवाना श्रुयिव्यामाधिपरं; स्थिरी कर्तुमयमस्य
संरभः ॥’

It is stated in the Preface to this drama that it was first enacted before king Kirtivarman himself. The theme of the drama is stated therein to be the rise of Knowledge, on the conquest of Infatuation by Sañity,—this being compared to the rise of king Kirtivarman on the conquest of Karṇa by Gopāla.¹ It is clear from the above references and from the fact that king Kirtivarman approved of this drama, that he had actually suffered serious reverses initially at the hands of the mighty Karnadeva, and that it was his vassal Gopāla who defeated Karnadeva and saved the situation, and in fact, changed it considerably for him.

As to the reverses, suffered by Kirtivaman, there is even a direct reference to it in the inscriptions, that are found on the rocks of the Ajaigarh Fort.² From these we learn that when king Kirtivarman was in distress in the Pīta Hills, the Kāyastha Maheśvara saved him, and that he was, therefore, made in charge of the Gates of the Fort Kālañjara and that the village of Pipalāhi, was donated to him.³ From that predicament, Kirtivarman not only recovered the lost territory of his kingdom, but even acquired larger territory making new addition to his kingdom, according to another record.⁴ Indeed, the numismatic evidence of this period amply substantiates this claim to new territorial acquisition. The coins, that king

1. Ibid., Intro.:—“...राजा: श्रीकीर्तिवर्मणः पुरस्तादभिनेतव्यं भवता । अस्ति चास्य भूपतेः सपारिषदस्तदबलोकने कुतूहलमिति ॥”

Ibid., I. 9:—‘विवेकेनेव निर्जित्य कर्णं मोहमिवोर्जितम् । श्रीकीर्तिवर्मनृपतेष्वधर्मयोदयः कृतः ॥’

2. Supra, p. 13 footnote 4.

3. Ajaigarh Fort Gate Inscription:—‘आराध्य पीतादिगतं विपत्सु-
श्रीकीर्तिवर्मणमयं प्रपेदे ।... कालजरद्वारवराधिकारम् ।

4. Ep. Ind., I, p. 327:—“कुम्भोद्धवः कर्णपयोधिपाने
प्रजेश्वरो नूतनराज्यसृष्टौ ।”

Gāngeyadeva issued in the region of Sagar and Damoh, are found imitated, not by his son Karṇadeva, but by Kīrtivarman¹ and his successors.² This piece of evidence enables us to put down the event of the regaining of the lost territory as well as addition to it, to about the beginning of the reign of king Karṇadeva of the Kalachuri dynasty.

King Kīrtivarman does not appear to have rested on his oars, but he even wrested the territory of his enemy on the west. With the death of king Udayāditya and the consequent weakness of the Paramāra power, he probably found a golden opportunity; for, we learn from the Devagarh Rock Inscription dated V. S. 1154 (= c. 1097 A. D.), that Vatsarāja, a minister of Kīrtivarman "wrested the entire *maṇḍala* (district or province) from the enemy"³ of the Chandel ruler, and "erected this (neighbouring fort) as the Fortress or Kīrti-giri."⁴ As the fort of Chanderi is known to have been called in ancient times "Kīrti-durga", and as it is within 50 miles or so from Devgarh hill, the reference is unmistakable. As this place is also not far removed from Udaipur, where Udayāditya built his far-famed temple, known as Udaye-

1. V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta* (Oxford, 1906), p. 250 f.

2. See below, p. 42, etc.

3. Ind. Ant. XVIII, p. 237 f.—“योऽयं समस्तमपि मण्डलमाणु शत्रोराच्छिद्ध”

It may be possible to take *śatror-maṇḍala* in the same sense of *ari-maṇḍala* of the works on the Artha-śāstra; but the word *ā-chhid*, to snatch or wrest from, goes against it. We find no merit whatever in the criticism of the interpretation (given by Kielhorn), made in Mitra, ERK, p. 100.

4. Some scholars, perhaps, depending on too literal a meaning of the words in this case, have concluded that the Hill of Devgarh was itself turned into the "Fortress of the Kīrti-giri".

śvara in c. 1059 A.D., there can be little doubt as to the enemy meant here.

Thus, it is clear that the Chandellas had at this time powerful rivals among the Paramāras of Dhar and the Kalachuris of Tewar. It is in conformity with this that we find the Ajaigarh Rock Inscription of Viravarman, dated V. S. 1317, stating that king Sallakṣhaṇa's sword snatched the fortunes of the kings of Mālava and Chedi dynasties.¹ As there is little corroboration of any direct clashes between the Chandels and these two powers during the reign of Sallakṣhaṇa, this can be taken as little more than the panegyrist's praise, if not, indeed, as a recognition of the might of these two rival dynasties. From another fragmentary record, it would appear that either the minister, Ananta, or his son, Gadādhara, achieved certain successes, in the region of the Antarvedi (Doab),—which may have been done in the days either of Kīrtivarman or of his successor Sallakṣhaṇavarman.² Such an event appears to have been in tune more with the troubled period of the former ruler than that of the latter; and it may have been no more than a diversionary raid, to harass Karṇadeva.³

Then followed a couple of minor rulers, Jayavarman and Prithvīvarman, who appear to have done little to enhance the prestige of the dynasty, by way of conquests. The former of these appears to have been inclined rather to spiritual affairs: In his days, a post-script was added to the record of the time of Dhāngadeva in the Marakate-

1. Ep. Ind. I, p. 327:—‘सल्लक्षणो मालव-चेदि-लक्ष्मी-लुट्टाक-खङ्गः क्षितिपश्च तस्मात्’

2. Ibid., I, p. 195f.

3. For Sallakṣhaṇa's gold coins in imitation of Gāṅgeya-deva, see B.B. Bidyabinoda's *Supplementary Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, Vol. I, p. 64.

śvara' temple; and we learn from a fragmentary record from Kālañjara Fort¹ about his handing over the kingdom to his successor, out of devotion to god Nārāyaṇa.

F. Fluctuating Fortunes in the 12th Century A.D.

That the fluctuating fortunes of this dynasty had improved by c. 1100 A.D. is borne out by an incidental allusion in the records of a minor dynasty. In a record, dated in c. 1114 A.D., found at Ratanpur, Dist. Raipur, the king Jājalladeva of the Chedi dynasty of Rātanpur, is stated to have been on friendly terms with "Chedīśa" (the Chedi or Kalachuri ruler of Tripuri), the king of Kānyakubja (Gurjara Pratihāra king of Kanauj), and the king of Jejākabhukti² (Jajhauti), —all of whom were evidently the most powerful rulers of his time in the neighbourhood.

As Dr. H. C. Ray points out, Madanavarman "was the master of the four famous places (in Chandel history), Kalinjar, Khajuraho, Ajaigarh and Mahoba,"³ as is borne out by the find-spots of his inscriptions. Other records would show that besides controlling the districts of Banda and Jhansi in U. P., "the Chandella power had crossed the Betwa in the S. W. and advanced into the Paramāra territory,"⁴ where he is credited with having "routed the arrogant king of the Mālavas"⁵ (Malwa). Indeed, the Augasi record of this king is found to have been issued from Besnagar (Vaidisa-vāsaka) near modern Vidisha, on the Betwa⁶.

1. J.A.S.B. (1848), p. 195f.

2. Mirashi (CII). IV. pt. ii, p. 409f.

3. Ray, DHNI.II, 710.

4. Ibid, p.710.

5. Ind. Ant. XVI, p.202; 207. In Ujjain grant of the Paramāra ruler Lakshmīvarman, dt. V.S. 1200 (= c. 1153 A.D.) he confirms

Continued on page 42.

The gold coins of Prithvīdeva, found at Dudhi in the south of the Mirzapur District, U. P., belonged in all probability to the Chandella king Prithvīvarman, and not to any Chedi ruler of Mahākosala, as is taken for granted by Dr. Vincent A. Smith,¹ for this locality is quite in the neighbourhood of Panwar, the find-spot of the silver coins of Madanavarman, the successor of Prithvīvarman. In that case, king Pithvīvarman may be taken to have retained his hold over the eastern regions, including northern Baghelkhand and parts of U. P., just south of the Jumna and the Gaṅges.² The gold coins, issued by Kīrtivarman, in imitation of Gāngeyadeva, were continued by his successors, including Sallakshanavarman, Jayavarman, Madanavarman, Paramardin, Trailokya-varman, and Viravarman.³ This would further show that the regions in the Districts of Sagar and Damoh⁴ continued to be in the possession of the Chandellas till the days of Viravarman. It may be noted *en passant* that the

Footnote continued from page 41

the grant of land, made by his father Yaśovaman in V.S. 1191 (= c. 1144 A.D.) in the Mahad-vāsaka-maṇḍala, (Ind. Ant., XIX, p. 351 f.), which is to be identified with the Bhāilla-svāmī-mahad-vāsaka-maṇḍala of the Udaipur Stone Inscription of V.S. 1229 (Ep. Ind., XXIV, p. 231). Clearly the Paramāras ruled over the Bhilsa region from at least c. 1144 A.D. to c. 1153 A.D. Therefore, the conquest of Bhilsa region by the Chandellas is to be dated after 1153 A.D.

1. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum of Calcutta*, p. 254.

2. That these coins were imitated by king Jājalladeva of the Eastern Chedi dynasty may perhaps be explained by the claims of that king, that the ruler of Jejāka-bhukti was a friend of his. (See above, p. 4: also see Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museums of Calcutta*, p. 254-55).

3. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins...*; p. 25054.

unique coins of Paramardin and Viravarman, that apparently belong to a period when Khajuraho was not much patronized by the Chandellas, are stated to have been found at Khajuraho itself.¹

The defeat of the Paramāras, or the invasion of Malwa by Madanavarman may well have been the result of a concerted attack by various rulers on the territory of the Paramāras simultaneously. The Chāhamānas of Nadvala (Nadol) in the North and the Chaulukya emperor Jayasimha Siddharāja were not slow to exploit the situation, when they invaded the Paramara kingdom and took its ruler captive.² This naturally brought the Chaulukya ruler of Gujarat in clash with the Chandella ruler. "Gujarat chronicles refer to wars between Madanavarman and Siddharāja Jayasimha"³ of the Chaulukya dynasty who captured Dhārā, and a claim is found to have been made on his behalf in the Dvyaśraya-kāvya that he proceeded from Dhārā towards Kālañjara.⁴

Whatever the final outcome of the war between the Chaulukyas and the Chandellas, it does not appear to have resulted in any great weakening of the power of the latter. For, as seen below, his successor continued to call himself the "Lord of the Daśarṇa country", which often included Vidisha. Nor did the Chandella kingdom dwindle on the East, for its extent in that direction during the reign of Madanavarman⁵ is indicated by the find

1. Ibid., p. 253-254.

2. R.-C. Majumdar *The Struggle for Empire* (HCIP, Vol. V), p. 59;

3. Ray, DHNI. I, p. 710.

4. Dvyaśraya kavya (of Hemachandra)

5. Ray, DHNI. I, p. 709.

of a hoard of silver coins at Panwar, a village in the Teon-thar Tahsil of district Rewa (Northern Baghelkhed).

The fore-going story of the Chandellas during the reign of king Madanavarman is partially corroborated by some other records too. Thus, a Kālañjara Fort record claims victory for him in his fight with a Gurjara king,¹ though it is by no means clear, which king is meant thereby. In another record, we find him credited with a victory over the Chedi ruler on the one hand and with uprooting of the king of the Mālavas (Malwa) on the other. While the find of the silver hoard at Panwar would show that the regions in north Baghelkhand² and in south U. P., formerly in the hands of the Chedis, had now passed on to the Chandels, it would also prove that the Chedis were no more connected with Prayāga-Kaśī region, which had passed by this time into the hands of the Gāhaḍavāla rulers of Kanauj.

(1) J.A.S.B., 1848, p.i,p.318

(2) Ep. Ind.,I,p.198,st.15:—

द्राविदव्यापे दैवः समरभरच्छिं यत्य नागनाडपि नित्यं काले सौहार्द्धल्या गमयति सततं
जासतो काशिराजः । येनौद्वयं दधानः स च सपदि समुःमूलितो मालवेशत्कन्तो यत्र भर्त्तक
परमवनिमुजः ख्वास्थ्यमन्ये च मेजः ॥

The episode, connected with the king of Mālavas, as suggested above, may be a result of the combined attack of the rulers of the East, the North and the South on the kingdom of the Para-māras. See our *to Māṇḍu* (in Hindi) for more details.

(3) The Lal Pahadi Rock Inscription of Narasimhadeva Kalachuri, dated in A.D. 1158—found near Bharhut, Dist. Satna,—and the Alha Ghat Rock Inscription dated in A.D. 1169 would show that the South Baghelkhand regions were, for most of this period, included in the kingdom of the Kalachuris. (Cunningham, ASR., IX,p.1: 94; XXI, p.115; I.A., XVIII,p.211-214).

Indeed, the same Kālañjara inscription would have us believe that the king of Kāśī (Banaras) kept on friendly terms with king Madanavarman,—though the claim, that he did so on account of the feeling of fear instilled into his mind, may not be taken without a grain of salt. Again, this makes it equally certain that the king of Kāśī was quite powerful in the days of Madanavarman and that his capital was out of the reach for him.

G) The End of Paramardideva and of Khajuraho :

Fortune did not, however, smile upon his successor; Paramardideva, with the same consistancy as she did upon Madanavarman. That he, too, was on friendly terms with the Gāhadavāla kings of Kanauj, who were then the lords of the whole Gangetic valley, including Prayāga (Allahabad) and Kāśī (Banaras), is borne out by the literary accounts of these times, available to us. This friendship, no doubt, brought him into disfavour with the famous Chauhan ruler of Delhi, Pṛithvīrāja. However, it is clear that Paramardideva continued to hold Kālañjar Fort, and naturally the regions around it; for he is found to have retained the title of *Kālañjarādhipati*, (Lord of Kālañjar) in his inscriptions. Curiously, he is called in at least one record “*Daśārṇādhipati*”² (Lord of the Country of Daśārṇa), indicating his control over the Districts of Vidisha, Sagar and Damoh. This is independently borne out by the coins of Paramardideva, spoken of above, as imitating the coins of Gāngeyadeva found in those Districts.

King Paramardideva had in his army the two legendary warriors, Alha and Udāl, whose names are sung in veneration in the heroic sagas of Bundelkhand ever since.

1. Supra, p. 15 2. Ep. Ind., IV, p. 153;

"the accursed Parmar (=Parimal, Parmardideva), the Rai of Kalanjar" fled into the Fort; and later, when surrounded, "placed the collar of subjection" round his neck.¹ It would appear from what follows that this display of effeminacy and pusillanimity was strongly resented by the minister-in-chief, who was then taking care of the kingdom, and that, therefore, before the Fort could be surrendered by him, King Paramardideva was killed : The account says, he "died" and that "his chief minister refused to surrender the Fort," "until he was compelled to capitulate in consequence of a severe draught,²" that dried up all the water on the Fort. The outcome of the surrender was calamitous. "The fort of Kalinjar ... celebrated throughout the world for being as strong as the walls of Alexander, was taken,"³ along with Mahoba and Khajuraho. From the Ta-jul-Ma'athir we further learn that "the temples were converted into mosques and abodes of goodness and the very name of idolatry was annihilated. Fifty thousand came under the collar of slavery."⁴

This marks the end of the glory of Khajuraho, as evidenced by the local records. Evidently Qutb-ud-din Aibak carried from here to Delhi a vast booty, including 50,000 male and female prisoners, that included the artisans and the Devadāsīs of these temples. Not long after, we find the richly decorated arches of the mosque 'near Qutb Minar, built by the Muslim rulers. Scholars hold that they are 'built after the system of the Hindu-domes

1. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, Vol. II, p.228f.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

of horizontal courses as far as practicable, and then closed by long slabs meeting at the apex—an evidence that the workmen, being Hindus, were unused to building arches, and modified their own methods to meet the new form of construction."¹ The date of completion of these arches is put at c. 1230 A.C., i.e., within 25 years after the destruction of Khajuraho. This renders it not improbable that they were built by the artisans of Khajuraho and the neighbourhood, that were converted to conqueror's faith, and that they served it with the traditional skill and the convert's zeal.

H. The Aftermath : c. 1203-1300 A.D.

Hereafter the Chandels were a local power, engaged, for survival or for expansion, in fighting battles with their neighbours. This decline may be somewhat gradual. For we find Trailokya-malla (or Trailokya-varman) reestablishing the hold of his dynasty over the Baghelkhand region, wresting it from the Kalachuris. As shown elsewhere,² a study of certain titles, originally used by the Kalachuri ruler, Karna, would show that the regions of Kāśī passed into the hands of the Gurjara Pratihāra emperors immediately after the death of Karna Kalachuri and that Baghelkhand passed into the hands of the Chandellas, from the hands of king Vijayasimha of the Kalachuri dynasty. The title "Nija-bhujoparjita-Aśvapati-Gajapati-Narapati-rāja-trayādhipati", evidently alluding

1. I.G.I. (1907-8), II, p. 102; cf. p. 126; etc.

2. See our article *Rewa Inscription of Vijayasinha Kalachuri* in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, Vol. XXXIX (1958), p. 105. As shown there, the Chandellas under Trailokya-malla occupied the region round Rewa in Kalachuri Era 963 (= c. 1210-11 A.D.) wresting it probably from Vijayasinha Kalachuri whose inscription dated in Kalachuri Era 96x is found in the same locality and is just slightly earlier than the former.

to the status of suzerainty over the whole of northern India, is known to have been first held by Karṇadeva Kalachuri, evidently by virtue of his suzerain status. This title was continued by the Kalachuri rulers who succeeded him, e.g., by Yaśahkarna, Gayakarna, Narasiṁha, Jayasiṁha and Vijayasiṁha, evidently on account of a certain reluctance to part with such honorable a usage. With the defeat of Vijayasiṁha Kalachuri, king Trailokya-malla (better known as Trailokya-varman) adopted those titles, before K. E. 963 (—c. 1212 A.L.), at least in the Baghelkhand region, conquered from him. Thus they are found adopted, in full or in an abbreviated form, in no less than three of his inscriptional records, which all hail from Baghelkhand.¹ Since no records are yet available from other regions for this later period, it may be presumed that they were adopted throughout his kingdom, as different practices did not prevail in different regions in such matters.

It is already pointed out by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, that the Garra Copper plate record of Trailokya-varman is dated in c. 1205 A.D., i.e., "within two years of the date of the death of Paramardi, Trailokya-varman's predecessor and the fall of Kalanjar (April, 1203 A.D.)... As we gather from the present inscription, however, Trailokya-varman must shortly after the catastrophe at Kalanjar have mustered his forces, followed the Muhammadans into the western part of Bundelkhand, fought with and possibly defeated them there, re-established his power in at least the western and central parts of his dominions, and probably recovered his ancestral stronghold of Kālañjara (as appears from his assumption of the

1. Ep. Ind., XXV, p.1f.; Mirashi (CIL.) IV, pt. i, p. 37 f.; Ind. Ant., XVII, p. 231f.; XVII, p. 235f.

epithet *Kālañjārādhipati*, 1.5) Other inscriptions tell us that he was in possession of Ajaygarh Fort in 1212 A.D.¹ The places, mentioned in the Garra record, have been identified by Rao Bahadur Dikshit with those in the districts of (South) Jhansi, Sagar, Chhatarpur and Panna.—these showing that king Trailokya-varman continued to be, *de facto*, *Daśārnādhinātha*, though he may not have borne that title, like his father Paramardideva.²

Having thus secured himself in possession of the ancestral territory, king Trailokya-varman apparently proceeded to attack the Chedis, under king Vijayasimha, from whom he wrested Baghelkhand. Here the officers under him are known to have granted three landgrants in regions that are to be found in both South Baghelkhand and North Baghelkhand. Evidently he held a wide sway since K. E. 963 (—c. 1212 A.D.) till at least V. S. 1298 (c. 1241 A.D.), the date of the Rewa Copper plate grant of Mahāraṇaka Harirajadeva.

The Ajaigarh Stone inscription of Viravarman praises Trailokya-varman as “the (very) Creator in providing strong (and) famous fortresses”,—which would show that the times being difficult, he was quite alive to the needs thereof. Evidently he had recovered the two forts of Kālañjara and Ajaigarh (Jayadurga); besides Chitrakūṭa, before proceeding to the East to conquer Baghelkhand.

From the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* of Minhaj we learn :—“There was in this neighbourhood to hilly tracts near Kara (District Allahabad), a Rana, who was called Dalaki wa Malaki. He had many dependents, countless fighting

1. Ep. Ind. XVI, p. 273-274.

2. JASB. (1848), XVII, p.313f.; Cunningham, ASR, XXI, p.37 f.

3. Ep. Ind., I, p. 327f.:—त्रैलोक्यमङ्ग शशास्त राज्य प्रसिद्धुर्गंप्रविधातवेशः।

men, great dominions and wealth, fortified places, and hills and defiles extremely difficult of access. All these he (Ulugh Khan, the commander of the forces of Sultan Nasir-ud-din) ravaged (in A. H. 645—c. 1247 A.D.). He took prisoners the wives, sons and dependants of that accursed one, and secured great booty. He secured 1500 horses of a peculiar breed, which he brought in for the use of the army. His other booty may be inferred from this. When he returned and waited on his sovereign, all his brother nobles congratulated him on his victories."¹

Gen. A. Cunningham was the first to identify Dalaki wa Malaki with Trailokya-varman, taking the former to be a misreading in the manuscripts, legitimately derived from the latter.² In the comparable account of Firista, we find Kālañjara also mentioned, reassuring us about the identification. From the account of the Tabaqat-i-Nasiri, it would appear that the Rana, mentioned above, was one of the greatest rulers in India of this time. This is independently borne out by the grandiloquent sovereign titles, assumed by Trailokyavarmadeva. The account does not appear to mention any direct fight between the two forces, but merely refers to the plunder of the territory by the Muslim forces, and securing of the precious loot, including 1500 horses, that Trailokya-varma-deva was unable to prevent. It is to be inferred that the latter probably resorted to defensive guerilla tactics, without venturing a straight fight, and retained all the time the control of the major Forts in his possession. This was also quite natural for him at his age; for he must have been quite an old man by about 1247 A.D., which

1. Raverty, l.c., Vol. I, p. 680f. 732f. Elliot and Dowson, Vol. II, p. 248f.

2. Cunningham, A.S.R., Vol. II, p. 457.

date gives him at least 43 years of rule, according to the records.

In the record of his successor, Viravarman, soon after, there is a claim made on his behalf that "he brought the Earth like Vishnu, out of the ocean of (the army of) the Turushkas (Turks)" —meaning thereby that he saved his kingdom from the army of the Muslims, that had invaded it. Therefore the fact of the invasion of the Chandella kingdom cannot be doubted, nor, indeed, the fact of it having been saved, or rescued, due to the valour of Trailokyavarman. However, whether this refers to the regaining of the lost territory, including the Fort of Kalañjara, after the surrender thereof by the chief minister of Paramardin, or to the driving out of the forces of Malik Nusrat uddin, after they had gathered enough plunder, is a thing that is best left to conjecture.

The earliest record of his successor Viravarman, dated in v. s. 1311 (—c. 1254 A.D.) is a donation in recognition of the meritorious services rendered by one Rauta named Abhi, in the fight concerning (the Fort of) Sondhi, which Dr. Hiralal, the editor of the record, correctly identified with the Fort of Seondha, in Dist. Datia.² In fact, much of his regnal period appears to have been consumed in such minor fights and in obtain-

1. Ep. Ind., I, p. 327f.:—

"तुरुष्कवल्पाम् द्युमिष्टधारीं सदृश्वति विष्णुरिव प्रतःवन्।" (corrected from the original) Ajaigarh Rock Inscription of Viravaman, dt. V. S. 1317 = 1260 A. D. Some help in this regard may be obtained from the fact, mentioned in ASI-AR. (1915-16), p. 24, discussed elsewhere.

2. Ep. Ind. XX, p. 132.

ing minor victories over his petty adversaries, on the western front, while he appears to have lost his hold over the eastern regions, including parts of Baghelkhand. Thus from his copper-plate of Dahi in South Bundelkhand, we learn that the donee, Mallaya by name, is credited with victories over the kings of Narwar, Madhuvanaka—(Madhuban) and Gwalior, i.e., local rulers of the contiguous Districts of Shivpuri, Guna and Gwalior.¹ We also know of a few records, dated 1280-81 A.D., that commemorate the warriors, who fell fighting against king Viravarman Chandel, near Narwar, Dist. Shivpuri.² In the west, therefore, Chandella power was sought to be reestablished in his days. In the east, however, Baghelkhand may have passed out of his hand, possibly into that of the Kalachuris or of the Muslims.

To the time of the next ruler, Bhojavarman, belong a few records at Ajaigarh and one at Kalinjar. The for-

1. Cunningham, Archeological Survey Reports, Vol. XXI. p. 74 f. Unfortunately the place, mentioned here as 'Madhuvanaka', has so far been mistaken for Mathura (Muttra) by all scholars, since Mathura was also called Madhupuri or Madhura. However, as the context would clearly show, this place is to be identified with the present Mahuvan, a village, 10 miles north of Esagarh, in district Guna, which is known to be of high antiquity, and which has ancient temples datable to eighth to twelfth centuries A.D. We have elsewhere identified "Madhuvana" of Sanchi inscriptions with this Mahuvan,—a fact, which may throw a considerable light on the history of this site.

2. *Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy* (1954-5), p. 15. What is represented here in a Government of India publication as a new discovery has been already included by the present author's father the late Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit, the former Director General of Archaeology in India in his '*Progress Of Archaeology in India During Last 25 Years*' (*Progress of Science*, p. 293), evidently from the information available to him in the Annual Administrative Reports, Gwalior State.

mer allude to the construction of some Hindu temples on the fort of Ajaigarh, the ruins of which can be seen there today. The last of the Chandellas of Kalinjar is mentioned in two records, one dated c. 1307 A.D. found at Bahmani, Dist. Damoh, and the other dated 1310 A.D. found at Ajaigarh. In other words, Khajuraho continued to be within the dominion of the Chandellas almost till the very end.

I. Muslim Sway over Khajuraho Region:

The story of the Muslim conquest of some neighbouring tract, to the south of Khajuraho, may be gathered for the period after c. 1300 A.D. with the aid of the records of the District of Damoh and the chronicles of the Muslim historians. A record in Bahmani (Dist. Damoh), dated c. 1308 A.D. refers to the local ruler, Hammīra-varman, as the sovereign ruler of Kālañjara. But the very next year, we find another record, from Salaiya—only 3 miles from Bahmani—mentioning Sultan Alla-ud-Din as the sovereign ruler of that place. We know that in 1309, Malik Kafur, the most celebrated general of Alla ud-Din Khilji, Sultan of Delhi, had marched by way of Chanderi (in Bundelkhand) towards Warangal (Orangallu) in south Andhra, when the latter was the capital of the Telingana kingdom under the Kākatiyas. It is reasonable to suppose that on way to it, the forces of the Sultan, under Malik Kafur, may have occupied the District of Damoh, and also the tract round Khajuraho, for a time. On those forces retreating from the region, the Chandel ruler Hammīravarman again asserted his authority over that region, as may be

1. Cf—^४ कालिङ्गराषिगतिशीमद्वारोर्देवविजयराज्ये सम्बत् १३६५ समये महाराज-
मुक्रवाष्पदेव (वे) मुजमाने।

clear from his record dated c. 1310 A.R. at Ajaig; h, spoken of above.

The final Muslim conquest and subjugation of this region is probably to be relegated to the region of the Tughlaq emperors of Delhi, the successor of the Khiljis. Of these, Ghiath-ud-Din Tughlaq Shah (1320-1324 A.D.) has left at Batiagarh, 20 miles north-west of Damoh, a Persian inscription of seven lines; and his successor, Muhammad bin Tughlaq Shah (c. 1325-1352 A.D.) has left two inscriptions in Sanskrit, at the same place, one of which is dated in A.D. 1328.

The last glimpse into the ancient history of Khajuraho of this time is, perhaps, afforded by a statement of Ibn Battutta in c. 1335 A.D. about "Kajura" or "Kajarra", "Here, there is a great pond, about a mile in length near which are temples, containing idols, which the Muslims have mutilated —At the four corners of the pond are cupolas, in which live a body of the Jogis, who have clotted their hair and let them grow, so that they become as long as their bodies, and on account of their practising asceticism, their colour has become extremely yellow (dark?)."¹

Clearly we have here a reference to the Shivsagar Lake, which appears to have extended in those days up to the Chausat Yogini temple, and to the Saiva Yogens, with their matted hair, who were in charge of these Saiva temples. It would appear that these Yogens wore their hair after the fashion of their divinity, Siva. That in those days they performed austerities, according to the tenets of their faith, is also certain; and it is quite probable that even before the destruction of the images at the

1. I.G.I.(C.I.,1908), p. 390.

hands of the Muslims, such austerities were being performed, to attain to Siddha-hood, side by side with the promiscuous rituals. These Saiva Yogins were believed, in the days of Ibn Battutta, to have had spiritual powers, that won even some Muslims among their followers. Besides showing the existence of Muslims in this locality at this date, Ibn Batuta's testimony would prove that Saiva worship lingered at this site, at least till about the middle of the fourteenth century A.D.

Although the above is our reconstruction of the history of Khajuraho, we must bring to the notice of the reader others' views too. The destruction of the temples at Khajuraho is widely attributed to a much later date :- "It is probably that the partial demolition of its temples and consequent loss of importance dates from 1494-5 (A.D.), when Sikandar Lodi, after his expedition into Panna and Baghelkhand, retreated through this region and sacked the country as far as Banda."

ABBREVIATIONS

ASI-AR	Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India.
Mem. ASI	Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India.
Cun. ASR	A. Cunningham, Archaeological Survey Reports.
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.
Ep. Ind.	Epigraphia Indica,
I.A./Ind. Ant.	Indian Antiquary.
I.G.I.	Imperial Gazetteer of India.
I.G.I. (C.I.)	Imperial Gazetteer of India (Central India).
I.H.Q.	Indian Historical Quarterly.
J.A.S.B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.
J.N.S.I.	Journal of the Numismatic Society of India.
Mirashi, CII.	Mm. V. V. Mirashi, Inscriptions of the Kalachuri-Chedi Era (CII).
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1. $\frac{1}{2} \times 2 = 1$
2. $\frac{1}{2} \times 3 = \frac{3}{2}$



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